

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

3.

A REPRINT OF

AN APPEAL

TO THE

CHRISTIAN WOMEN

OF THE

SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA.

By ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ,

OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

WITH

INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDIX.

By GEORGE THOMPSON.

RECOMMENDED TO THE SPECIAL ATTENTION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY FEMALES
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE efforts which Great Britain and the United States are making for the conversion of the world, constitute the chief glory of the age in which we live. Compared with the struggles and triumphs of Christian benevolence, how insignificant are all movements, merely *political*! Institutions for the spread of the Gospel, being connected with the grand designs of God, are under His special patronage and protection; and the plots of politicians, and the cabals of courts, and the quarrels of potentates, and the downfall of empires, are interesting to the Christian and the philanthropist, only in proportion as they prepare the way, by the removal of old obstacles, for the universal diffusion of the principles of peace, and truth, and righteousness. How consolatory and sustaining, when covered with obloquy, and surrounded by difficulties and dangers, the reflection, that, if we are engaged in a work which has been undertaken in obedience to the Divine will, and stands connected with the purposes which God designs to accomplish through the instrumentality of man, we have laid hold upon the omnipotence of Jehovah, are guided by a wisdom that cannot err, covered with a shield which no hostile weapon can penetrate, and have an object before us, which, being linked to the plans of the Eternal, shall assuredly be accomplished. The secret of the success of modern religious enterprises is to be found in *their conformity with the spirit and end of the Gospel*, and the commands laid upon the church of Christ. The work of the world's regeneration will advance, just in proportion as a simple reliance upon the promise of God, and the sufficiency of His wisdom and strength, shall take the place of a confidence in human policy and human power. Acting in obedience to Divine direction, with undoubting faith in a Divine promise, "all things are possible." "God is on our side; we shall not be greatly moved." Amidst the suggestions of worldly wisdom, and the falterings of human weakness, a voice comes forth from the excellent glory, saying, "Fear not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness."—ISAIAH xli. 10.

I have deemed these remarks not inappropriate as an introduction to the notice of the females of Britain, of the great

CAUSE OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION,

A cause closely and inseparably connected with the success of every scheme for the evangelization of the world—the triumph of which must be achieved, ere the heralds of the cross can go forth without obstruction, or the word of the Lord have free course and be glorified among the heathen.

It is matter of deep regret, that many who evinced an active and commendable zeal in the recent struggle for the overthrow of Colonial Slavery, have either retired from the field, or relapsed into an attitude of *apathy*, not to say *indifference*. Of these, some think their work done; others dispute the wisdom or the right of interfering with slavery beyond the limits of British territory; while others deem the attempt to obtain the universal emancipation of the slaves throughout Christendom, an object, which, however desirable and praiseworthy, is utterly hopeless. To all such, both male and female, I would, with every proper feeling of respect and deference, address myself, beseeching them to ponder the facts about to be stated, and at the same time to take an enlightened and Christian view of their influence and responsibility. If they will do this, I doubt not the result. They will see that they cannot, in the present state of the world, without guilt, occupy a position of *neutrality*. Under a constraining sense of duty, they will again gird on the panoply of God, and go forth to the holy war of light, and truth, and love, against the principles which make and keep so many millions of our race SLAVES.

Before we proceed to a general view of the question before us, let us look at home. Our attention is first demanded to the

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY SLAVERY,

Under the name of Apprenticeship, in the *West Indies*, the *Cape of Good Hope*, and *Mauritius*. The people of Great Britain demanded *immediate, total, and unconditional* emancipation. Three hundred and thirty-nine delegates from Anti-Slavery Associations assembled in London in the month of April 1833, demanded immediate, total, and unconditional emancipation; and solemnly assured his Majesty's ministers, that they would offer all constitutional resistance to the measure about to be brought forward, if it compromised the principle of *immediatism*, or recognised the right of the planter to *compensation*, or, professing to give *entire* freedom to the negro, left him "*half a freeman, and half a slave*." The "ORACLE" replied, "*The measure shall be safe and satisfactory*." The 14th of May arrived; the grand disclosure was made; and

lo ! it appeared right in the eyes of an Anti-Slavery Administration (?) to make the measure "*safe*," by apprenticing the negro ; and "*satisfactory*," by giving twenty millions to the planters ! Some of the abolitionists declared themselves *thankful* for the measure ; others satisfied themselves with expressing useless regrets, and uttering secret murmurs ; while others did what they could to rouse the country to an effectual opposition. The measure embracing "apprenticeship" and "compensation" was ultimately carried ; and as two years and a half have elapsed since the 1st August 1834 (the day on which the act came into operation), we are now in circumstances to judge of its wisdom and beneficence, as before we were of its abstract *equity* and *justice*. The following facts* will show what (for the present) we have received for our twenty millions :—

Extract from a letter of the highest authority in the hands of the friends of the negro :—

"Yes, sir, the (British) Parliament, it is true, passed a law, in which the flogging of females under any circumstances was prohibited. The planters passed the same enactment, but with a rider attached to it in the shape of a proviso, that they shall be subject to any *police regulations equally affecting persons of free condition*. Now, free persons are seldom, if ever, sent to the workhouse ; it is quite safe, therefore, to frame regulations *nominally* affecting all parties. In this way the Planters have secured the continuance of female flogging !—Sir, you may stop this gap, but rely upon it, for every gap you do stop, the Planter will contrive to open a dozen fresh ones. Therefore do I repeat the assertion, that nothing short of absolute freedom will cure the evils of slavery. Yes, sir, women are still flogged, and that, too, with a measure of atrocious cruelty, far outstripping the latter years of slavery. Within the last month, two cases have come to my knowledge, both women with infants at the breast, sent to the workhouse by special magistrates ; the flesh was literally torn from their back ; 'you could not stick a pin between the sores.' The infants of these poor women were brought to the verge of the grave by the dreadful condition to which the mothers were reduced."

The following facts are from a medical man who had an official situation in Jamaica, and resided there twenty years. They are addressed to a Member of the British Parliament :—

"In apportioning their punishments, few magistrates observe any discrimination as to age, sex, condition, or previous character. Women with sucking children, and pregnant women, are sentenced to the workhouse to work in chains and collars, and to walk the tread-mill (and by the way, it is a notorious fact, that women are frequently flogged on these tread-mills). Apprentices of the best character are ruthlessly degraded by being sent to the workhouse, to associate with the most degraded and worthless characters."

Extract of a letter from a late Stipendiary Magistrate, dated Jamaica, April 1, 1835 :—

"You can conceive nothing more thoroughly horrible than the system of coerced labour, under the apprenticeship law."

* Taken from the "Eleventh Report of the Ladies' Negro-Friend Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich," &c. 1836.

The following is from a gentleman well known in Birmingham:—

“Through great mercy we are all well, and matters are quiet, which would not be the case were not the negroes the most patient people on earth! O this cursed apprenticeship! Nothing but blood, murderous cells, and chains! I think nearly forty young and old females pass my door in chains every morning. Not one school yet established, while most abominable cells and tread-mills are being erected all over the island! This to prepare the poor negroes for freedom.”

“Several of the slaves have said to me in the bitterness of their sorrow, ‘that they wished things had remained as they were before.’ For this I always check them, and call to their minds the fact, that at the end of six years they will be free. They reply, ‘but if our owners are so hard upon us, we shall not live till then.’”

A communication of the 14th of March, 1835, states, that “during the time martial law existed, a great number of women were flogged in St Christopher’s.”

“The Special Magistrates in that island, with two exceptions, have all given permission to flog the small gangs on estates, both males and females.”

Such a revelation of horrors should awaken the dormant zeal and collapsed energies of the nation. The bargain was, that the negro should be *free*,—he is still a *slave*. That woman should be not only free, but protected from the lash,—she is still a slave, and still subject to the brutalizing and blood-extorting whip. In a letter recently sent to this country by Mr Seoble, who, with that amiable and distinguished philanthropist, Joseph Sturge, Esq. of Birmingham, is engaged in a tour of inquiry through the West India islands and colonies, there is the following important testimony:—“With respect to the apprenticed labourers. My detestation of the system under which they are placed is not abated one jot. I have seen as well as heard enough to convince me, that it would be intolerable but for the watchful supervision of the Executive.”

Yet, this is the condition in which Mr Stanley said “the negro would enjoy *every right* and *every privilege* of a *FREE* man.” Are chains, dungeons, stripes, the collar, the stocks, and the tread-mill,—the “rights” and “privileges” of “FREE and unoffending men” and *women*? Shall this system continue till August 1, 1840? Shall we be innocent of the blood of our brother and sister, if, without any effort to shorten its duration, we leave it to die out, seeing every hour of the period is crowded with the wrongs of unpaid, insulted, and tortured British subjects? Are not we the holders of these slaves? Is not the Act under which they are thus treated, our Act, and not the Act of a Colonial Assembly? Did we not pay the price (£29,000,000) to buy them *out* of the house of bondage? If they are still *in* it, do we not hold the key? and shall we be deterred from opening the prison doors, by a fear of displeasing a despotic planter, or inconveniencing a Colonial Secretary, or disturbing the plans of a Home Admini-

nistration? Let the people answer, who have twice awakened to a sense of duty the slumbering guardians of British liberty!

THE SAFETY AND ADVANTAGES OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION

have been abundantly shown in the results which have followed the wise legislation of the planters of Antigua and the Bermudas. In these colonies unabridged freedom was bestowed upon the negroes instead of apprenticeship, and all parties have been gainers. The negroes gratefully accepted the boon, and proceeded to demonstrate their fitness for it, by betaking themselves, as willing, self-articled labourers, to the cultivation of the grounds upon which they had previously spent coerced and uncompensated toil. No man's property has been deteriorated. No pause in the agricultural or commercial energy of the islands has taken place. In Antigua, many of the plantations have been even more productive under the *new*, than they were under the *old* system; and so great has been the willing subordination of the negroes, and so undisturbed the tranquility of the island, that *not an alarm-gun has been fired* since the hour that witnessed the deliverance of the colonies from the curse, calamities, and guilt of slavery. Let us next glance at

OUR DUTY TO THE WEST INDIES.

There is still a great work to do for the inhabitants of these long enslaved and misgoverned colonies. The work of education, happily commenced, must be prosecuted with liberality and vigour. One hundred and thirty thousand children, under the age of six years, look toward the parent country for instruction. Nearly five hundred thousand negroes, of various ages, are willing and waiting to be taught. They must not be permitted to look in vain for the education we are bound, by our profession, and past zeal for their emancipation, to bestow upon them. If we would perfect the work we have commenced; if we would substitute the reign of principle for the reign of power; if we would compensate for successive ages of robbery and wrong; if we would make our experiment a powerful example and a rich blessing to all the other nations of the world; and cause the Islands of the West to become nurseries for missionaries and teachers, who shall hereafter go from thence to the benighted continent of Africa,—we must not fold our hands, but promptly second the efforts of Bible, and Missionary, and School Societies. If what is demanded be done quickly, it may reasonably be expected, that in a few years from the present time, the funds now required for these promising fields will no longer be needed, but that, on the contrary, the West Indies will become a source

of revenue, of both men and money, to the Evangelical Benevolent Societies of this country. Though there is much in the system at present that calls for immediate coercion or entire removal, yet is the

PROSPECT OF THE COLONIES

full of encouragement. The day is approaching when white soldiers shall no longer be needed to defend them from foreign aggression, or keep down a spirit of servile rebellion ;—when black, and brown, and yellow men, shall sit in the Council, and in the Assembly, with their fairer competitors for colonial honours, and evince as much skill in legislation and debate as ever did the whitest of their tyrants in former days ;—when Jamaica shall have her societies for sending the Bible, the missionary, and the catechist, to the unenlightened parts of the world ;—when West India pulpits shall be supplied with talented and devoted men from among the sun-burnt descendants of Mizraim and Cush ;—when delegations of coloured brethren shall visit our shores, and delight our hearts by telling us what their constituents are doing in conjunction with ourselves for the illumination of the world ;—when the glorious tidings of the Gospel shall be carried from Jamaica to Cuba and St Domingo, and every adjacent isle ; and the Gulf, and the Carribean Sea, and the southern shores of the Western Continent rejoice in the light of freedom and of truth ;—when a happy and hospitable population shall welcome to equal privileges, and a more genial clime, those of their brethren who shiver amidst the biting frosts of Nova Scotia and the Canadas ;—when a free and powerful community of coloured men shall lift up their voice, and, in tones of mingled pity and power, demand, in the name of humanity and God, the redemption of their race throughout the world !

Who would not take a part in bringing near this happy day ? Lovers of freedom, Philanthropists, and Christians, the eyes of the world are upon you. Mighty are the issues of your great experiment ! See to it that nothing is left undone to make it a happy and triumphant one.

Before we congratulate ourselves upon the victory of abolition principles throughout the British Empire, we must effect the extinction of

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

The subject of slavery in the East Indies has remained comparatively unnoticed. It is, however, apparent to those who have consulted the sources of information (limited as they are) open on this topic, that slavery of all kinds exists to a very vast extent throughout our British East India territories,

and that many of its features are of the most revolting and atrocious character. In Malabar alone, under the Presidency of Madras, there are, it appears, upwards of *one hundred thousand slaves* who are absolute property, as much as the cattle upon a man's estate, and in a condition of moral and physical degradation, as abject as can be conceived. "The very appearance of them," says Mr Baber, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, "particularly those in the south-east parts, bespeaks their wretchedness. Small in stature, spare arms and legs, with large stomachs; in fact, more like baboons than men. Perhaps there is no person who has had the opportunity I have had of seeing and knowing these unhappy creatures." It is probable that under the Madras Presidency there are upwards of half a million of slaves!

In the Bengal Presidency, both the Mahomedans and the Hindoos practise slavery to a very great extent. The number of those who are held in servitude, including every gradation, is beyond computation. It is perhaps not too much to say, that, throughout the districts of Bengal, there are from three to five millions of our fellow-subjects in bondage,—the character of their bondage differing, of course, according to the *caste* to which they belong, and the nature of their employment, some being *predial*, and others *domestic* slaves.

In the Island of Ceylon there are about twenty thousand predial slaves.

In 1833, the Ministers of the Crown proposed the immediate abolition of slavery throughout British India. The measure was modified in the House of Commons, and finally went from that assembly to the House of Lords, with a clause fixing the 12th of April, 1837, as the day for giving absolute freedom to the slaves of British India. The Members of the Upper House, however, bowed to the will of the Directors of the East India Company, and rejected the measure. They did more: they made the liberty of millions of our fellow-subjects dependant on the legislation of absentee East India Proprietors in Leadenhall Street, London. We have nothing to hope from East India Stockholders at home; nothing to hope from European residents abroad. The slaves of India look to the opponents of colonial despotism in England for their deliverance. Deny them *your* aid, and they must wear the yoke till death. This must not be. The united voice of Britain must rouse the imperial Parliament to attention: our petitions must make known the facts of the case, and our "continual coming" constrain our rulers to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land," and send the life-blood of British freedom

"through every vein

Of all our empire, that where Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too."

We turn to the state of Christendom at large, in reference to slavery and the slave trade.

A GENERAL VIEW OF CHRISTIAN SLAVERY

will show what yet remains to be done, and justify *an earnest appeal* to a Christian and Anti-slavery public, for sympathy and vigorous effort in the work of universal emancipation. We say nothing in what follows of the slavery of British India. There are,—

In the United States,	2,500,000 slaves.
In Brazil,	2,000,000 slaves.
In the Spanish Possessions,	500,000 slaves.
In the French Possessions,	300,000 slaves.
In the Possessions of Portugal, Denmark, Holland, &c.	200,000 slaves.
Add to these, the victims of <i>prejudice</i> in the United States,—the afflicted and down-trodden free (so called) people of colour: the masterless slaves of America,	500,000
And we have before us,	6,000,000

(SIX MILLIONS) of human beings prostrate beneath the hoof of a relentless tyranny, for no other crime than *the colour of their skins*! What mind can grasp the amount of injustice, misery, pollution, and soul-murder, comprised in this most impious and inhuman system? Five millions, five hundred thousand human beings held in a state of brutal subjection by nominally Christian nations! Odious and diabolical conspiracy against the liberties of mankind! Half of these are found in the far-famed Republican States of North America: the land of liberty; the asylum for the oppressed of all nations.—where it is declared that “all men are born *free and equal*,” and that “resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.” America! the land of the pilgrims,—the land of Eliot, and Edwards, and Hancock, and Adams, and Franklin, and Washington! In this land of revivals, and educational and missionary operations, and saints, and heroes, and philosophers, and liberators, there are THREE MILLIONS of oppressed human beings; two millions five hundred thousand in a state of brutal subjection to the avarice, lust, and power, of irresponsible masters, and the rest shut out from every social privilege, on account of their connexion (near or remote, it is the same) with the African race. Let the females of this land of liberty, where woman dwells in peace and security, remember that three millions of the slaves of Christendom are of their own form and sex—their sisters! sisters “in bonds!” writhing under the lash! robbed of their offspring! toiling beneath a vertical sun on the sugar plantations of Brazil, or the rice swamps of Carolina! groping their way to eternity through worse than heathen darkness!

tens of thousands of them brutalized by the system below a sense of shame, or any feeling of self-respect ! In their impotence, their benightedness and woe, they stretch their hands towards Britain ! Every breeze from the west comes freighted with their sighs and groans ! Daughters of this favoured land ! can you turn a deaf ear to their entreaties and their complaints ? Can you sit unmoved amidst the blessings which freedom and Christianity have showered around you ? Have you no tears to shed ? no prayer to present to the Avenger of the oppressed ? no voice of remonstrance for the ear of the oppressor, crying, in sympathetic agony, " Remember *you* were born of WOMAN ! O, spare my sister ! O, reverence our common nature !"

We pass from the six millions in the bonds of slavery and prejudice, to notice a gigantic evil growing out of the system, and perpetuated by it, viz. :—

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

You have read the Works of the venerable Clarkson, and the Speeches of the classic and silver-tongued Wilberforce (now in heaven), and have perhaps exulted in the thought that through the labours of these truly great men and their coadjutors, the Foreign Slave Trade had been abolished. It is true that *our nation* has been free from the disgrace and guilt of carrying on this traffic since 1807 ; but think you, Africa is saved from the machinations of the Christian broker in the trade of blood ? that her tribes are no longer molested ? that her shores are no more polluted by the stealthy step of the felon foe,—the spoiler of her children, and the destroyer of her peace ? Be not deceived. The vultures and vampyres of Europe and America are still draining her blood,—her villages are still fired,—her towns are still ravaged,—her deserts are still trodden by troops of chained and weeping captives, ever and anon falling phrenzied and fainting to the earth ! Slave factories still line the banks of the rivers and the shores of the Atlantic. Upwards of one hundred thousand negroes are annually put on board the slavers trading to Africa, and either die amidst the indescribable horrors of the middle passage, or are sold in the human flesh shambles of foreign *Christian* (!) countries.*

To obtain one hundred thousand slaves, more than double that number must perish on the continent in the wars fomented between tribes and nations, and in the transit from the far interior down to the coast. Who can hope for the *civilization*,

* Let me earnestly recommend to all who are desirous of knowing the history of the slave-trade since the British Abolition Act, to procure, without delay, a pamphlet compiled with great ability and care, by Robert Stokes, Esq. the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, 18, Aldermanbury, London. To be procured through the booksellers.

still less for the conversion, of Africa, to the faith of the Cross, while such a trade continues ! Africa, with her teeming millions, is beyond the pale of successful missionary enterprise, while she is the victim of the rapacity of the banded flesh-mongers of the civilized (?) world. THE REMEDY FOR THE SLAVE TRADE IS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. The *market* must be annihilated before the *supply* will cease. Treaties, conventions, commissions, and cruisers are all in vain, while high prices are offered for the persons of men. While the grand incentive continues, there will ever be men sufficiently greedy for gold, and reckless of danger, to embark in, and successfully carry on the trade. Our efforts should be directed against *slavery*. When the slave systems of America are broken up, the African slave-trade will die a natural death. Till then, no mortal blow can be struck at the slave-trade.

Let me now perform the grateful task of introducing to the attention of the females of Britain, more particularly to the attention of those who are, or have been, the members of Anti-Slavery Societies,

THE APPEAL

To the Christian women of the Southern States of America, to which the foregoing general view of slavery and the slave-trade in Christendom, is intended as a preface. The following pages are from the pen of Miss Angelina E. Grimké of Charleston, South Carolina (a slave state), a lady of distinguished family connexions, great moral worth, of peculiarly engaging manners, and undoubted piety. It was my privilege to become acquainted with Miss Grimké during a visit to Philadelphia two years ago. Her fervent zeal in the cause of the slave, blended with a manner peculiarly soft and unostentatious, produced a deep impression upon my mind. I can bear testimony to the high estimation in which she is held by the wise and good of her native country. She left, I believe, the State of her birth, that she might escape from the polluted atmosphere of slavery, and mingle with those who sigh and cry for the abominations which are done in the land. With her sister, who shares her zeal, she is devoted to the cause of abolition, and is at the present time engaged in delivering addresses to select meetings of females on the subject of slavery. For the production of her pen, now brought under the eye of the British reader, I need do little more than ask a serious perusal. It bears ample evidence of having been dictated by a mind full of yearning pity for "them that are in bonds," and deep solicitude on account of those of the female sex who stand connected, by administration, with the demoralizing system of domestic slavery. Her pamphlet is characterized by high unbending principle, sound reasoning, just views of the

extent of the Divine law and the spirit of the Gospel, and a tone of exquisitely tender and touching expostulation. It is eminently fitted to affect the conscience of the party addressed. The writer is well acquainted with the chief objections urged against *emancipation* and the *abolition movement*, and has wisely directed her attention to these. Her book is an able exposure of the fallacies by which it is sought to palliate slavery, and a generous and powerful vindication of the motives and measures of the immediate abolitionists. Two or three thousand copies of the Appeal have been sent into the slave states, and but few of them have been returned. May the blessing of God make them extensively useful! The pamphlet has rendered signal service to the cause in the Northern States. Those who are not converted by its arguments, are pleased and conciliated by its spirit and temper.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Has called into activity a vast amount of mind. There is no one topic, apart from politics, upon which so much is written as the subject of slavery; and certainly no topic besides, upon which what is written (on the *Anti-Slavery* side), is more in accordance with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel. The abolitionists of America, in the prosecution of their great object, have had to contend with opposition of every conceivable kind. They have been assailed in their persons, their property, and their reputation; but have, nevertheless, evinced, throughout the struggle hitherto, the most heroic devotedness to their principles. Soon after the first promulgation of the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation,* an appeal was made to this country for sympathy and help. In answer to that appeal, I undertook a mission to the United States, and spent fourteen months in lecturing in different parts of the Northern and Eastern States. When, in compliance with the earnest entreaties of many anxious friends (who dreaded the fate which they clearly saw awaited me if I continued in the country), I embarked on my return to these shores, I left behind me between 300 and 400 associations in connexion with a National Society. These associations have since increased to the number of 800, and are prosecuting with unparalled energy the great object they have set before them. My beloved friend, Mr Garrison, in a letter, dated January 10, 1837, thus sketches the present state of the cause:—

“The anti-slavery cause is marching onward with astonishing celerity; and it is now the all-pervading impression, both at the north and the south, that that cause is ere long to be completely victorious. Mobs

* The first society upon the basis of Immediate Emancipation was formed in Boston, January 1832.

are now quite rare,—the brutal crisis seems to have passed away ; and though we meet with sturdy opposition in various quarters, yet we always keep the mastery. The number of our societies increases too fast for me to keep an accurate reckoning. It cannot be less than 800, and may amount to 1000, and still it continues to augment. But the strongest proof of our growth,—the most sublime manifestation of our whole-hearted determination to conquer by one decisive effort,—is seen in the fact, that we have commissioned no less than SEVENTY agents to go forth and give battle to a corrupt public sentiment,—all good men and true,—all more or less able and successful lecturers,—a large portion enlisted during the war, and others for a limited period. I believe the world has seen nothing like this since the seventy disciples were sent forth by our Lord. Only think of it, seventy men, official agents, pleading with the people night and day ! If, in a cause like this, the promise is, that one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, what, under God, may not this sacramental host achieve ?”

Notwithstanding this extraordinary success, the abolitionists of the United States increasingly feel the

NECESSITY AND VALUE OF BRITISH SYMPATHY.

The churches of the slave states are, with few exceptions, arrayed in opposition to the friends of the oppressed.* The Government and Congress treat with rudeness and contempt the petitions of the people, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade at the seat of Government;† and the slaveholders and politicians of the South continue to oppose, by the most atrocious outrages and iniquitous laws, the progress of right sentiment in the slave states. In these circumstances, the friends of humanity and freedom throughout America, look to the people of this country for the assistance which they are fully able and warranted to afford. Their language is,—

“Our pride may revolt at the idea of foreign interference, but it will be the interference *not of force*, but of PUBLIC OPINION, against which our fleets and armies will be of no avail.”—*Judge Jay*.

“We shall need the COMBINED EFFORTS of Christians of all denominations among you,—let them all move onward together.”—*William Lloyd Garrison*. Again he says, “Tell the Christians of Great Britain who have sent over their remonstrances against our accursed slave system, that *they are helping us mightily*.”

“We are more than ever convinced that THE SYMPATHY OF GREAT BRITAIN, and of Europe at large, will be fatal to the cause of our enemies.”—*Professor Wright, Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society*.

“Already we feel the strong tide of British Sympathy bearing us onward. The enemies of liberty feel and dread it. Go on, and may God bless you !”—*John G. Whittier, Esq. Member of the Massachusetts Legislature*.

* Most joyfully do I refer to the present state of the Presbyterian churches in Kentucky. The synod of that state has published an address on the subject of slavery, worthy of the deepest attention. I have furnished a few short extracts from this truly interesting and valuable document in the Appendix (See No. IV.) Let the American churches perform their duty in reference to slavery, and it will be speedily banished from the land.

† See Appendix, No. V.

"The noble and Christian conduct of ecclesiastical bodies on your side of the Atlantic, *has cheered us greatly.*"—*Lewis Tappan, Esq.*

"What can you do in England to aid us? *Much.* We feel that you are aiding us, while labouring with God's help to envelope your island in an atmosphere in which an American tyrant, and the abettor of tyrants, cannot breathe."—*Rev H. C. Wright of Boston.*

I have selected the above short sentences from a multitude of letters, all speaking the same language. I feel confident the appeal will not be made in vain.

Britain! the nations know thy voice;
 'Tis thine to make the awful choice;
 'Tis thine to bid a world rejoice,
 Or close the gates of Liberty!

THE FEMALES OF THE UNITED STATES

Have, many of them, been amongst the most zealous and efficient advocates of the cause of enslaved American citizens. Associated for the purpose, they have obtained funds, diffused information, and procured thousands of signatures to Anti-Slavery petitions. In the midst of ridicule and danger, they have pursued their way without faltering or fear; and by their steady zeal, and bright example, have given a mighty impulse to the cause. They are still laboriously engaged. In New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Portland, Maine; Concord, New Hampshire; and many other places, there are large and growing societies. By means of subscriptions, collections, Anti-Slavery bazaars, fairs, depositories, boxes, &c. they are enabled to make very large contributions to the funds of the National and State Societies. The Boston ladies, during the year ending October, 1836, raised upwards of *eleven hundred dollars* (more than £200 sterling); and on the 22d of December last, realized, by means of an Anti-Slavery fair, five hundred and fifty dollars (£120), which enabled them to complete a contribution of *one thousand dollars* to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

These noble and devoted females make their appeal to the women of Great Britain. They ask your sympathy in their trials and successes. They desire to embark with you in the work of freedom for all the slaves of Christendom. If you will help them in the hour of need to accomplish their work of home benevolence, they will throw their victorious energies into the still wider field of universal emancipation. In the Appendix (See No. II.), you will find one of many communications, sent from Female Associations in the United States to the Anti-Slavery females of this country. It will exemplify the patience and heroic devotedness of the women of New England, and will, I doubt not, call up corresponding feelings in the breasts of those who have not yet forgotten their own

struggles in a kindred cause. A reply, sent from the town of Darlington, is inserted for the purpose of suggesting to females, in other places, the propriety of forwarding similar communications. A regular correspondence between the American and British FEMALE SOCIETIES would greatly strengthen and animate both. The following extract from a letter, written by Mrs Chapman, secretary of the Boston Society, in reply to one from the Hon. Mrs Erskine of Edinburgh, conveying an expression of the sympathy and good wishes of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, will corroborate the truth of the above remark :—

“We rejoice that we are not called to sacrifice *all* human approbation. Deeply and gratefully do we appreciate the strengthening sympathy of which your letter assures us. We knew it would be so. We felt that the liberators of the British West Indies,—the descendants of the assertors of religious freedom in days gone by, would be with us. From the conflict with falsehood and enmity, we look to COVENANTED SCOTLAND, and are strengthened and consoled by the thought that her daughters are watching with deep solicitude, and forwarding by prayer the ‘magnificent and awful cause,’ in which we are engaged.

“It would afford us very great satisfaction to hear from you as often as opportunities offer. Valuable ideas will doubtless occur to you, being spectators, which might not so readily suggest themselves to us. The unparalleled success of Mr Thompson’s labours is a continual memento of the good which may be effected in one country by moral influence from another; his fearless but affectionate exposition of truth is even now working in the hearts of his enemies, and we confidently anticipate the time when those who so madly and so blindly heaped injuries on *him* because they hated the truth, will be anxious for his return, that they may express their penitence and their thanks.”

I am aware of the frequency with which the question is asked,

WHAT CAN THE FEMALES OF THIS COUNTRY DO?

I shall attempt a reply to this question.

1. Let those who desire to serve this cause *give their names and influence to some society* established to promote it. Be *enrolled* among the friends of the human race. Thus openly avow your attachment to Anti-Slavery principles, and approve yourselves before God and the world. The fact of numerous societies existing for the overthrow of slavery would, in itself, have efficacy, and hasten the event you desire. *Example* does much. If no society at present exists in your town or neighbourhood, converse with your friends upon the subject,—urge the formation of an association; and, as soon as a few are like-minded with yourself, let a society be organized, a correspondence with other societies opened, a few books and tracts purchased, and the work of enlightenment commenced. If this course be taken, with a sincere desire for usefulness, and in humble dependance upon a Divine blessing, it will not be long

ere you are fully satisfied of the power you possess to help the great cause.

2. As societies, you can *raise funds* to be devoted to the printing and publication of such tracts or larger works as may be calculated to inform the public mind,—keep alive and increase the Christian zeal and sympathies of the nation,—and enlist the pulpit and the press in behalf of the suffering and the dumb.

3. As societies and individuals, you can aid those societies which have assumed heavy responsibilities, and are sustaining an active and efficient agency. These societies will gratefully receive your help, and apply, with all possible care and economy, your benefactions to the sacred object for which they are given.

4. As societies, you can forward to the associations of America your letters of sympathy, counsel, and encouragement; and through them you can also address the reason and conscience of yet unawakened females in every part of the country. Be assured your voice will be heard and felt. Is not this an interesting and solemn duty? Are not the noble and excellent females, who, for the sake of the slave, are constantly exposed to insult and danger from “the secret counsel of the wicked,—from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity, who whet their tongue like a sword, and bend their bows to shoot their arrows, even wicked words,” entitled to this at your hands. Will not the females of Britain, generally, follow the example of Scotland? You can shed joy and gladness over hearts plighted to the bleeding slave, yet often saddened and cast down by the frowns, and ridicule, and persecution visited upon them by the interested and ignorant supporters of a wicked system.

5. The abolitionists of America, male and female, observe the last Monday evening of every month as a season of special prayer for the enslaved of their own and every other land. These meetings are, as I can testify, attended by large numbers, and are found to be times of refreshing. Let the abolitionists of this country follow the example thus set them. Nothing struck me more forcibly than the peculiarly *religious* character of the Anti-Slavery movement in America. The abolitionists are pre-eminently *men and women of prayer*; and I cannot but attribute their unblameable deportment, and exemplary patience, as well as their extraordinary success, chiefly to this distinguishing feature.

6. If you have the means, possess yourselves of a few books containing a correct and comprehensive view of the great subject; and when you have mastered their contents, send them among your friends and neighbours, and keep them constantly circulating.

7. Are you, as parents, preceptors, or Sabbath school teachers, entrusted with the education of the young? Let me exhort you to think well upon your influence, and the obligation resting upon you to exert it for the good of mankind. The opportunity is afforded you of inculcating *right principles*, and *directing the feelings* of your tender charge. Let not their duty to "remember them that are in bonds," be forgotten in your admonitions. Peradventure, the lessons you teach them may, under the blessing of heaven, enlist them in the cause of the oppressed, and send them forth to assert the rights of your insulted sex, and accelerate the triumph of universal freedom. So important do the abolitionists of America deem it, that children should be rightly informed on this subject, that for a year and a half past, the National Society has issued monthly, a periodical for infants, entitled "*THE SLAVE'S FRIEND*," hundreds of thousands of which have been distributed in families, schools, and by the way side. Ladies carry them in their reticules—gentlemen in their waistcoat pockets—and marvellous have been the effects produced by this effort to "train up" the children of the land to pity and pray for the slave. The Executive Committee of the National Society have recently engaged a gentleman, whose talents and zeal for infant education admirably fit him for the work, as "*infant's agent*." His whole time is devoted to the spread of information on the subject of slavery amongst children. He directs his attention specially to the subject of prejudice against colour, and seeks to prevent the growth of that unkind and unholy feeling, which the general treatment of the coloured race is calculated to beget in the infant mind.

This is the true method of reforming the world. In this work the assistance of females is indispensable. Let the women of Britain aid us in preparing other and better labourers for the great field of universal benevolence ;

"Such means the ransom'd slave shall raise,
And guide his feet in wisdom's ways ;
And leave, when we are turn'd to dust,
A generation of the just."

Lastly ; if you have leisure, you can devote it to the manufacture of such articles as are adapted for sale in bazaars, fairs, &c. Opportunities are constantly occurring of forwarding such things to the United States. A few have already been sent. Such contributions will not fail of bringing a high price at the periodical sales of the various Trans-Atlantic Societies ; and thus, while you will be increasing the funds of those Societies, you will also be scattering through the country, the lasting memorials of your sympathy and co-operation.

It is gratifying to perceive that many great and good men

are already enlisted in the work ; but you must not be content to leave it wholly to them. You are peculiarly qualified to enter into many of the most appalling evils of slavery. Suffer me, then, to plead with you on behalf of *your own sex*,—of millions, debarred not only the privileges of women, but the commonest rights of humanity,—debased and polluted by sensual and despotic masters, and shut out from the cheering light of the Gospel. If *we* plead for the honour, happiness, and life, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, of *your sex*, surely you will not withhold your countenance and help. It is the cause of woman,—the cause of purity,—of maternal love,—of infant education,—of religion,—of God ! That which is masculine,—which is prominent, perplexing, or perilous, *we* will joyfully undertake. We ask you to do nothing inconsistent with *your sex or station*.

Your labour in this cause will bring your reward with it. When you contemplate the condition of *your sex* in slavery, your own privileges and enjoyments will appear doubly valuable, and your heart will glow with an intenser gratitude to the God of your mercies. When you think of mothers whose children are the “goods and chattels” of their sordid and iron-hearted masters,—whose smiling innocents are liable at any moment to be dragged from their throbbing bosoms, and consigned to the flesh-factor,—you will thank God that you inhabit a country, in which the parental relation is recognized and protected inviolate by the laws and religion of the land.* In America, the negro is bound to obey the command of his master, however unreasonable, cruel, or iniquitous it may be. At the bidding of his master, he may be compelled to flog, under circumstances the most revolting, his *wife*, or sister, or mother ! I use not the terms *husband* and *wife* to signify that the marriage contracts of slaves are regarded in the Southern States of America ; for alas ! they are utterly set at nought.† I merely intend to point out those who are linked by mutual choice and strong affection to each other. The negro who quitted his hut at dawn, leaving a blessing with the mother and her little ones, may, before noon, be chained to a coffin, and on his way, with other sorrowing exiles, to the regions farther south, leaving weeping eyes and breaking hearts at home, to mourn the returnless absence of the father and the

* “Slaves shall be deemed, taken, reputed and adjudged to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters and possessors. to all intents and purposes whatsoever.”—*Laws of South Carolina*.

“Of course, these laws do not recognize the parental relation as belonging to slaves. A slave has no more legal authority over his child, than a cow over her calf.”—*Jay on American Slavery*.

† “A necessary consequence of slavery is the absence of the marriage relation. No slave can commit bigamy, because the law knows no more of the marriage of SLAVES, than it does of the marriage of BRUTES ?”—*Ibid*.

husband ! Will not the ceremonies, and symbols, and securities connected with the matrimonial contract in this slaveless country appear more sacred in your eyes, when contrasted with the impieties and impurities inseparable from the institution of slavery,—an institution which tramples upon every precept and ordinance of God, and rends, without mercy, the million fibres of the human heart !

Do any still hesitate to engage in this work, and ask, “ what will our entreaties and remonstrances avail ? ” I answer in the eloquent language of one of America’s most patriotic and enlightened sons :—

“ We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies, the power of truth, of principle, of virtue, of right, of religion, of love. We have a power, which is growing with every advance of civilization, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of Christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forth in prayers and persuasions, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of their race ? All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is leagued with God’s omnipotence. It is God himself acting in the hearts of his children. It has an ally in every conscience, in every human breast, in the wrong doer himself. This spirit has but begun its work on earth. It is breathing itself more and more through literature, education, institutions, and opinion. Slavery cannot stand before it. Great moral principles, pure and generous sentiments, cannot be confined to this or that spot. They cannot be shut out by territorial lines, or local legislation. They are divine inspirations, and partake of the omnipresence of their Author. The deliberate, solemn conviction of good men through the world, that slavery is a grievous wrong to human nature, will make itself felt. To increase this moral power is every man’s duty. To embody and express this great truth is in every man’s power ; and thus every man can do something to break the chain of the slave.”

But enough. You will, I trust, be led, by the perusal of the pamphlet now in your hands, to desire further information. I shall annex a list of publications, throwing additional light upon the various parts of the subject now briefly and imperfectly brought before you. In a short time there will, I doubt not, be a considerable addition to the works specified. In the mean time you need not remain ignorant of the extent and character of the system,—the means in progress for its destruction,—or your own duty to God and the suffering millions of your race.

If spared, I shall continue to labour in the same glorious cause. Grateful to God for the measure of success He has vouchsafed me, I intend to prosecute, with renewed energy and devotedness, the glorious work of universal emancipation. I shall travel and deliver lectures,—re-organize existing societies.

and form new ones,—promote the adoption of remonstrances with the people of America,—keep up an extensive correspondence with the friends of abolition,—and facilitate the republication of such American works as may be calculated to advance the cause in this country.

Did I not fear to offend, I might name many, by whose enduring zeal I have been stimulated; by whose sympathy I have been encouraged; by whose liberality I have been enabled to prosecute my plans; and by whose prayers, I believe, I have been preserved steadfast in this work of faith and labour of love. Their names are known to him for whose sake they have become the patrons of the oppressed, and co-operated with the writer of these lines. To all who, in this or other lands, have cheered and sustained me in my arduous labours, I tender the assurance of my imperishable gratitude. With a deeper abhorrence of the system of slavery,—an increased conviction of the righteousness of the principles by which the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation is supported,—and a love to the cause of the negro, strengthened by the trials and afflictions I have been honoured to endure,—I shall go forward. I have now almost completed a seven years' apprenticeship:—not of irksome drudgery for a “hard master,”—but of willing, and consecrated toil in the service of the GREAT REDEEMER:—not bound by “magisterial indenture” or “imperial act,” but by the principles of truth and righteousness, and the inseparable links of fraternal sympathy with the slave of every colour, in every clime.

GEO. THOMPSON.

118, PRINCE'S STREET, EDINBURGH,
March 10, 1837.

P.S.—Communications intended for me may be forwarded to the above address.

The Ladies named below are officially connected with FEMALE SOCIETIES FOR PROMOTING THE CAUSE OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, and will very cheerfully correspond with Ladies in England or Scotland, who may desire information :—

EDINBURGH.

Miss WEBSTER, 7, Torphichen Street.

GLASGOW.

Miss SMEAL, 161, Gallowgate.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Miss BEAUMONT, High Swinburne Place.

DARLINGTON, DURHAM.

Miss PEASE, Feethams.

NORTH SHIELDS, DURHAM.

Mrs CHARLES THOMSON, at Rev. CHARLES THOMSON'S.

The following are Officers connected with the principal FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES of the United States :—

NEW YORK.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs A. L. COX, 434, Broome Street.

Recording Secretary, Miss JULIANA TAPPAN, care of
Lewis Tappan, Esq.

BOSTON.

President, Miss MARY S. PARKER, Hayward Place.

Foreign Corresponding Secretary, Mrs H. G. CHAPMAN, West Street ; or care of Henry G. Chapman, Esq. firm of H. Chapman and Company.

PHILADELPHIA

Secretary, Mrs LUCRETIA MOTT.

To such as are desirous of obtaining additional information on the topics mentioned in the foregoing pages, the following works are recommended, viz. :—

SLAVERY IN AMERICA ; or an Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization and the American Anti-Slavery Societies. By WILLIAM JAY. F. Westley and A. H. Davis, Stationers' Court, London. 4s.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA ; with Notices of the Present State of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World. Edited by the Rev. THOMAS PRICE. Published Monthly by George Wightman, 24, Paternoster Row, London. 4d.

DISCUSSION ON AMERICAN SLAVERY, between Mr George Thompson of England, and Rev. R. J. Breckinridge of Baltimore, U. S. George Gallie, Glasgow ; and W. Oliphant & Son, Edinburgh. 1s. 6d.

REPORT OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY FOR 1837. George Gallie, Glasgow ; and W. Oliphant & Son, Edinburgh.

A VOICE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FROM THE METROPOLIS OF SCOTLAND ; being an Account of Various Meetings held in Edinburgh on the subject of American Slavery upon the return of Mr George Thompson from his Mission to that Country. William Oliphant and Son, Edinburgh. 9d.

HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE, from 1807 to 1837. Anti-Slavery Office, 18, Aldermanbury, London. 1s.

REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE given before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the Working of the Apprenticeship System. Hatchard, Piccadilly, London. 1s.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. S. ABDY, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 3 vols. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 30s.

PICTURE OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Rev. GEORGE BOURNE, for many years a Minister of the Gospel in a Slaveholding State. M'Phun, Glasgow. 2s.

In the Press,

LETTERS ON SLAVERY, addressed to the Cumberland Congregation, Virginia. By the Rev. J. D. PAXTON, their former Pastor. W. Oliphant & Son, Edinburgh ; and Hamilton, Adams, & Co. London.

This is a calm, argumentative, and convincing discussion of all the great questions connected with slavery. It is the work of one possessing an extensive acquaintance with the system, and contains a full exposition of the Scriptural argument.

A P P E A L, &c.

“ Then Mordecai commanded to answer Esther, Think not within thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house more than all the Jews. For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place : but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed : and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this. And Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer : And so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to law, and if *I perish, I perish*.”—ESTHER, iv. 13-16.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

IT is because I feel a deep and tender interest in your present and eternal welfare, that I am willing thus publicly to address you. Some of you have loved me as a relative, and some have felt bound to me in Christian sympathy and Gospel fellowship ; and even when compelled by a strong sense of duty to break those outward bonds of union which bound us together as members of the same community, and members of the same religious denomination, you were generous enough to give me credit for sincerity as a Christian, though you believed I had been most strangely deceived. I thanked you then for your kindness, and I ask you *now*, for the sake of former confidence and former friendship, to read the following pages in the spirit of calm investigation and fervent prayer. It is because you have known me that I write thus unto you.

But there are other Christian women scattered over the Southern States, and these, a very large number of whom have never seen me, and never heard my name, and who feel *no* interest whatever in *me*. But I feel an interest in *you*, as branches of the same vine, from whose root I daily draw the principle of spiritual vitality. Yes ! Sisters in Christ, I feel an interest in *you*, and often has the secret prayer arisen in your behalf,—Lord, “ open thou their eyes, that they may see wondrous things out of thy law.” It is, then, because I *do feel* and *do pray* for you, that I thus address you upon a subject about which, of all others perhaps, you would rather not hear anything ; but, “ would to God you could bear with me a little in my folly, and indeed bear with me, for I am jealous over you with godly jealousy.” Be not afraid, then, to read my Appeal ; it is *not* written in the heat of passion or prejudice, but in that solemn calmness which is the result of conviction and duty. It is true, I am going to tell you unwelcome truths, but I mean to speak those *truths in love* ; and remember, Solomon says, “ faithful are

the *wounds* of a friend." I do not believe the time has yet come when *Christian women* "will not endure sound doctrine," even on the subject of slavery, if it is spoken to them in tenderness and love; therefore I now address *you*.

To all of you, then, known or unknown, relatives or strangers (for you are all *one* in Christ), I would speak. I have felt for you at this time, when unwelcome light is pouring in upon the world on the subject of slavery,—light which even Christians would exclude, if they could, from our country, or at any rate from the southern portion of it, saying, as its rays strike the rock-bound coasts of New England, and scatter their warmth and radiance over her hills and valleys, and from thence travel onward over the Palisades of the Hudson, and down the soft-flowing waters of the Delaware, and gild the waves of the Potomac,—“Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.” I know that even professors of His name, who has been emphatically called the “Light of the world,” would, if they could, build a wall of adamant around the Southern States, whose top might reach unto heaven, in order to shut out the light which is bounding from mountain to mountain, and from the hills to the plains and valleys beneath, through the ~~vast~~ extent of our Northern States. But believe me when I tell you, their attempts will be as utterly fruitless as were the efforts of the builders of Babel; and why? Because moral, like natural light, is so extremely subtle in its nature, as to overleap all human barriers, and ~~though~~ at the puny efforts of man to control it. All the excuses and palliations of this system must inevitably be swept away, just as other “refuges of lies” have been, by the irresistible torrent of a rectified public opinion. “The *supporters* of the slave system,” says Jonathan Dymond, in his admirable work on the Principles of Morality, “will *hereafter* be regarded with the *same* public feeling as he who was an advocate for the slave trade *now* is.” It will be, and that very soon, clearly perceived and fully acknowledged by all the virtuous and the candid, that in *principle* it is as sinful to hold a human being in bondage who has been born in Carolina, as one who has been born in Africa. All that sophistry of argument which has been employed to prove, that, although it is sinful to send to Africa to procure men and women as slaves, who have never been in slavery, that still it is *not* sinful to keep those in bondage who have come down by inheritance,—will be utterly overthrown. We must come back to the good old doctrine of our forefathers, who declared to the world this self-evident truth, “that *all* men are created *equal*, and that they have certain *inalienable* rights, among which are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness.”* It is even a greater absurdity to suppose a man can be legally born a slave under *our free republican* government, than under the petty despotisms of barbarian Africa. If, then, we have no right to enslave an African, surely we can have none to enslave an American. If it is a self-evident truth that *all* men, everywhere and of every colour, are born equal, and have an *inalienable right*

* Declaration of American Independence, July 4, 1776.

to *liberty*, then it is equally true that *no* man can be born a slave, and no man can ever *rightfully* be reduced to *involuntary* bondage, and held as a slave, however fair may be the claim of his master or mistress, through wills and title-deeds.

But, after all, it may be said, our fathers were certainly mistaken, for the Bible sanctions slavery, and that is the highest authority. Now the Bible is my ultimate appeal in all matters of faith and practice, and it is to *this test* I am anxious to bring the subject at issue between us. Let us then begin with Adam, and examine the charter of privileges which was given to him: "Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." In the eighth Psalm we have a still fuller description of this charter, which, through Adam, was given to all mankind: "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet. All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas." And after the flood, when this charter of human rights was renewed, we find *no additional* power vested in man: "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and every fowl of the air, and upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered." In this charter, although the different kinds of *irrational* beings are so particularly enumerated, and supreme dominion over *all of them* is granted, yet *man* is *never* vested with this dominion *over his fellow man*; he was never told that any of the human species were put *under his feet*; it was only *all things*,—and man, who was created in the image of his Maker, *never* can properly be termed a *thing*, though the laws of slave states do call him "a chattel personal." Man, then, I assert, *never* was put *under the feet of man* by that first charter of human rights which was given by God to the Fathers of the Antediluvian and Postdiluvian worlds: therefore the doctrine of equality is based on the Bible.

But it may be argued, that in the very chapter of Genesis from which I have last quoted, will be found the curse pronounced upon Canaan, by which his posterity was consigned to servitude under his brethren Shem and Japheth. I know this prophecy was uttered, and was most fearfully and wonderfully fulfilled, through the immediate descendants of Canaan, *i. e.* the Canaanites; and I do not know but it has been through all the children of Ham; but I do know that prophecy does *not* tell us what *ought to be*, but what actually does take place, ages after it has been delivered; and that if we justify America for enslaving the children of Africa, we must also justify Egypt for reducing the children of Israel to bondage, for the latter was foretold as explicitly as the former. I am well aware that prophecy has often been urged as an excuse for slavery; but be not deceived; the fulfilment of prophecy will *not cover one sin* in the awful day of account. Hear what our Saviour says on this subject: "It must needs be that offences come, but *woe unto that man through whom they come*." Witness some fulfilment of

this declaration in the tremendous destruction of Jerusalem, occasioned by that most nefarious of all crimes,—the crucifixion of the Son of God. Did the fact of that event having been foretold exculpate the Jews from sin in perpetrating it? No; for hear what the Apostle Peter says to them on this subject: “Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, *ye* have taken, and by *wicked* hands have crucified and slain.” Other striking instances might be adduced, but these will suffice.

But it has been urged that the patriarchs held slaves, and therefore, slavery is right.* Do you really believe that patriarchal servitude was like American slavery? Can you believe it? If so, read the history of these primitive Fathers of the Church, and be undeceived. Look at Abraham, so great a man, going to the herd himself, and fetching a calf from thence, and serving it up with his own hands, for the entertainment of his guests. Look at Sarah, that princess, as her name signifies, baking cakes upon the hearth. If the servants they had were like Southern slaves, would they have performed such comparatively menial offices for themselves? Hear, too, the plaintive lamentation of Abraham when he feared he should have no son to bear his name down to posterity: “Behold thou hast given me no seed,” &c., “one born in my house is *mine* heir.” From this it appears that one of his *servants* was to inherit his immense estate. Is this like Southern slavery? I leave it to your own good sense and candour to decide. Besides, such was the footing upon which Abraham was with *his* servants, that he trusted them with arms. Are slaveholders willing to put swords and pistols into the hands of their slaves? He was as a father among his servants; what are planters and masters generally among theirs? When the institution of circumcision was established, Abraham was commanded thus:—“He that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, *every* man-child in your generations; he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger which is not of thy seed.” And to render this command with regard to his *servants* still more impressive, it is repeated in the very next verse; and herein we may perceive the great care which was taken by God to guard the *rights of servants* even under this “dark dispensation.” What, too, was the testimony given to the faithfulness of this eminent patriarch: “For I know him that he will command his children and his *household* after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment.” Now, my dear friends, many of you believe that circumcision has been superseded by baptism in the Church. *Are you* careful to have *all* that are born in your house, or bought with money of any stranger, bap-

* The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Harmony Presbytery, South Carolina, 26th November, 1836. It was one of a series, denouncing all attempts at abolition, and maintaining the scriptural sanction of slavery.—G. T.

“*Resolved*, That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slaveholders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (who are now in the kingdom of heaven), to the time when the Apostle Paul sent a runaway slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal epistle to this slaveholder, which we find still stands in the canons of the Scriptures; and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the apostle, and does now exist.”

rised? Are *you* as faithful as Abraham to command *your household to keep the way of the Lord*? I leave it to your own consciences to decide. Was patriarchal servitude, then, like American slavery?

But I shall be told, God sanctioned slavery, yea, commanded slavery, under the Jewish Dispensation. Let us examine this subject calmly and prayerfully. I admit that a species of *servitude* was permitted to the Jews; but in studying the subject I have been struck with wonder and admiration at perceiving how carefully the servant was guarded from violence, injustice, and wrong. I will first inform you how these servants became servants, for I think this a very important part of our subject. From consulting Horne, Calmet, and the Bible, I find there were six different ways by which the Hebrews became servants legally.

1. If reduced to extreme poverty, a Hebrew might sell himself, *i. e.* his services, for six years, in which case *he* received the purchase money *himself*. Lev. xxv. 39.

2. A father might sell his children as servants, *i. e.* his *daughters*; in which circumstance it was understood the daughter was to be the wife or daughter-in-law of the man who bought her, and the *father* received the price. In other words, Jewish women were sold as *white women* were in the first settlement of Virginia,—as *wives*, not as slaves. Ex. xxi. 7.

3. Insolvent debtors might be delivered to their creditors as servants. 2 Kings iv. 1.

4. Thieves, not able to make restitution for their thefts, were sold for the benefit of the injured person. Ex. xxii. 3.

5. They might be born in servitude. Ex. xxi. 4.

6. If a Hebrew had sold himself to a rich Gentile, he might be redeemed by one of his brethren at any time the money was offered; and he who redeemed him, was *not* to take advantage of the favour thus conferred, and rule over him with rigour. Lev. xxv. 47–55.

Before going into an examination of the laws by which these servants were protected, I would just ask whether American slaves have become slaves in any of the ways in which the Hebrews became servants. Did they sell themselves into slavery and receive the purchase money into their own hands? No! Did they become insolvent, and by their own imprudence subject themselves to be sold as slaves? No! Did they steal the property of another, and were they sold to make restitution for their crimes? No! Did their present masters, as an act of kindness, redeem them from some heathen tyrant, to whom *they had sold themselves* in the dark hour of adversity? No! Were they born in slavery? No! No! not according to *Jewish Law*; for the servants who were born in servitude among them, were born of parents who had *sold themselves* for six years; Ex. xxi. 4. Were the female slaves of the South sold by their fathers? How shall I answer this question? Thousands and tens of thousands never were, *their fathers never* have received the poor compensation of silver or gold for the tears and toils, the suffering and anguish, and hopeless bondage of *their daughters*. They labour day by day, and year by year,

side by side, in the same field, if haply their daughters are permitted to remain on the same plantation with them, instead of being, as they often are, separated from their parents and sold into distant states, never again to meet on earth. But do the *fathers of the South ever sell their daughters?* My heart beats, and my hand trembles, as I write the awful affirmative, Yes! The fathers of this Christian land often sell their daughters, *not* as Jewish parents did, to be the wives and daughters-in-law of the man who buys them, but to be the abject slaves of petty tyrants and irresponsible masters. Is it not so, my friends? I leave it to your own candour to corroborate my assertion.* Southern slaves, then, have *not* become slaves in any of the six different ways in which Hebrews became servants, and I hesitate not to say that American masters *cannot*, according to *Jewish law*, substantiate their claim to the men, women, or children, they now hold in bondage.

But there was one way in which a Jew might illegally be reduced to servitude; it was this, he might be *stolen* and afterward sold as a slave, as was Joseph. To guard most effectually against this dreadful crime of manstealing, God enacted this severe law,—“He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.”† As I have tried American Slavery by *legal* Hebrew servitude, and found (to your surprise,

* The following is an extract of a letter, dated West Boylston, Massachusetts, June 16th, 1836, addressed to me by a highly respectable gentleman, well known in the United States.—G. T.

“I have lately heard of a murder, which is authenticated by evidence, in this neighbourhood. A merchant from Massachusetts was on a journey of business to one of the slave states, and there he dined sumptuously with a planter. A girl, in attending the table, spilt some gravy upon her master’s dress, and frightened at what she had done, fled from his presence. He followed, knife in hand, and, in an adjoining room, knocked her down, and cut her throat. The guest saw the transaction by means of a large mirror. The butcher returned to table, and resumed his repast with a manner quite calm and indifferent, urging his companion to eat and partake of his wine. The latter declined, saying that he could not eat after the scene which he had just witnessed. ‘Oh,’ responded the planter, ‘we think no more of killing a slave than we do of killing a fly.’ To fill the measure of horror, this slave was **HIS OWN DAUGHTER!!**”

The following was related to me by Mrs Child:—“A young physician went into the far Southern States to settle, and there became in love with a very handsome and modest girl, who lived at service. He married her; and about a year after that event, a gentleman called at the house, and announced himself as Mr J——y, of Mobile. He said to Dr W——, ‘Sir, I have a trifling affair of business to settle with you.’ You have married a slave of mine. The young physician resented this language, for he had not entertained the slightest suspicion that the girl had any other than white ancestors since the flood. But Mr J—— furnished proofs of his claim, and Dr W—— knew very well that the laws of the country would uphold him in it. After considerable discussion, the best bargain he could make was either to pay eight hundred dollars, or have his wife put up at auction. He consented to the first alternative, and his unwelcome visitor departed. When he had gone, Dr W—— told his wife what had happened. The poor woman burst into tears, and said, ‘as Mr J—— was **HER OWN FATHER**, she had hoped that when he had heard she had found an honourable protector, he would have left her in peace.’”

† And again, “If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then *that thief shall die*, and thou shalt put away evil from among you.” Deut. xxiv. 7.

perhaps), that Jewish law cannot justify the slaveholder's claim. let us now try it by *illegal* Hebrew bondage. Have the Southern slaves then been stolen? If they did not sell themselves into bondage; if they were not sold as insolvent debtors or as thieves; if they were not redeemed from a heathen master to whom *they had sold themselves*; if they were not born in servitude according to Hebrew Law; and if the females were not sold by their fathers as wives and daughters-in-law to those who purchased them; then what shall we say of them? what can we say of them? but that according to *Hebrew Law they have been stolen*.

But I shall be told that the Jews had other servants who were absolute slaves. Let us look a little into this also. They had other servants who were procured in two different ways.

1. Captives taken in war, were reduced to bondage instead of being killed; but we are not told that their children were enslaved. Deut. xx. 14.

2. Bondmen and bondmaids might be bought from the heathen round about them; these were left by fathers to their children after them, but it does not appear that the *children* of these servants ever were reduced to servitude. Lev. xxv. 44.

I will now try the right of the southern planter by the claims of Hebrew masters over their *heathen* slaves. Were the southern slaves taken captive in war? No! Were they bought from the heathen? No! for surely no one will *now* vindicate the slave-trade so far as to assert that slaves were bought from the heathen who were obtained by that system of piracy. The only excuse for holding southern slaves, is, that they were born in slavery; but we have seen that they were *not* born in servitude as Jewish servants were, and that the children of heathen slaves were not legally subjected to bondage, even under the Mosaic Law. How then have the slaves of the South been obtained?

I will next proceed to an examination of those laws which were enacted in order to protect the Hebrew and the Heathen servant; for I wish you to understand that *both* are protected by Him, of whom it is said "his mercies are over *all* his works." I will first speak of those which secured the rights of Hebrew servants. This code was headed thus:—

1. Thou shalt *not* rule over him with *rigour*, but shalt fear thy God.

2. If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh year he shall go out free for nothing. Ex. xx. 2.*

3. If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him.

4. If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons and daughters, the wife and her children shall be his master's, and he shall go out by himself.

5. If the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife,

* And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty: Thou shalt furnish him *liberally* out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, shalt thou give unto him. Deut. xv. 13, 14.

and my children, I will not go out free, then his master shall bring him unto the Judges, and he shall bring him to the door, or unto the door post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him *for ever*. Ex. xxi. 3-6.

6. If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go *free* for his eye's sake. And if he smite out his man servant's tooth, or his maid servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake. Ex. xxi. 26, 27.

7. On the Sabbath, rest was secured to servants by the fourth commandment. Ex. xx. 10.

8. Servants were permitted to unite with their masters three times in every year in celebrating the Passover, the feast of Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles; every male throughout the land was to appear before the Lord at Jerusalem with a gift; here the bond and the free stood on common ground. Deut. xvi.

9. If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money. Ex. xxi. 20, 21.

From these laws we learn that Hebrew men servants were bound to serve their masters *only six* years, unless their attachment to their employers, their wives and children, should induce them to wish to remain in servitude: in which case, in order to prevent the possibility of deception on the part of the master, the servant was first taken before the magistrate, where he openly declared his intention of continuing in his masters service (probably a public register was kept of such), he was then conducted to the door of the house (in warm climates doors are thrown open), and *there* his ear was *publicly* bored: and by submitting to this operation he testified his willingness to serve him *for ever*, *i. e.* during his life, for Jewish Rabbins, who must have understood Jewish *slavery* (as it is called), "affirm that servants were set free at the death of their masters, and did *not* descend to their heirs: or that he was to serve him until the year of Jubilee, when *all* servants were set at liberty. To protect servants from violence, it was ordained that if a master struck out the tooth or destroyed the eye of a servant, that servant immediately became *free*, for such an act of violence evidently showed he was unfit to possess the power of a master, and therefore that power was taken from him. All servants enjoyed the rest of the Sabbath and partook of the privileges and festivities of the three great Jewish feasts; and if a servant died under the infliction of chastisement, his master was surely to be punished. As a tooth for a tooth, and life for life, was the Jewish law, of course he was punished with death. I know that great stress has been laid upon the following verse, "Notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money."

Slaveholders, and the apologists of slavery, have eagerly seized upon this little passage of Scripture, and held it up as the masters' Magna Charta, by which they were licensed by God himself to commit the greatest outrages upon the defenceless victims of their

oppression. But, my friends, was it designed to be so? If our Heavenly Father would protect by law the eye and the tooth of a Hebrew servant, can we for a moment believe that he would abandon that same servant to the brutal rage of a master who would destroy even life itself. Do we not rather see in this, the *only* law which protected masters, and was it not right that in case of the death of a servant, one or two days after chastisement was inflicted, to which other circumstances might have contributed, that the master should be protected, when, in all probability, he never intended to produce so fatal a result? But the phrase "he is his money," has been adduced to show that Hebrew servants were regarded as mere *things*, "chattels personal;" if so, why were so many laws made to *secure their rights as men*, and to ensure their rising into equality and freedom? If they were mere *things*, why were they regarded as responsible beings, and one law made for them as well as for their masters? But I pass on now to the consideration of how the *female* Jewish servants were protected by law.

1. If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto another nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

2. If he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.

3. If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.

4. If he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out *free* without money.

On these laws I will give you Calmet's remarks; "A father could not sell his daughter as a slave, according to the Rabbins, until she was at the age of puberty, and unless he were reduced to the utmost indigence. Besides, when a master bought an Israelitish girl, it was *always* with the presumption that he would take her to wife. Hence Moses adds, 'If she please not her master, and he does not think fit to marry her, he shall set her at liberty,' or according to the Hebrew, 'he shall let her be redeemed.' 'To sell her to another nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her;' as to the engagement implied, at least of taking her to wife. 'If he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters, *i. e.* he shall take care that his son uses her as his wife, that he does not despise or maltreat her. If he make his son marry another wife, he shall give her her dowry, her clothes and compensation for her virginity; if he does none of these three, she shall *go out free* without money.'" Thus were the *rights of female servants carefully secured by law* under the Jewish Dispensation; and now I would ask, are the rights of female slaves at the South thus secured? Are *they* sold only as wives and daughters-in-law, and when not treated as such, are they allowed to *go out free*? No! They have *all* not only been illegally obtained as servants according to Hebrew law, but

they are also illegally *held* in bondage. Masters at the South and West have all forfeited their claims (*if they ever had any*), to their female slaves.

We come now to examine the case of those servants who were "of the heathen round about;" Were *they* left entirely unprotected by law? Horne, in speaking of the law, "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but shalt fear thy God," remarks, "this law, Lev. xxv. 43, it is true, speaks expressly of slaves who were of Hebrew descent; but as *alien born* slaves were ingrafted into the Hebrew Church by circumcision, *there is no doubt* but that it applied to *all* slaves;" if so, then we may reasonably suppose that the other protective laws extended to them also; and that the only difference between Hebrew and Heathen servants lay in this, that the former served but six years unless they chose to remain longer, and were always freed at the death of their masters; whereas the latter served until the year of Jubilee, though that might include a period of forty-nine years,—and were left from father to son.

There are, however, two other laws which I have not yet noticed. The one effectually prevented *all involuntary* servitude, and the other completely abolished Jewish servitude every fifty years. They were equally operative upon the Heathen and the Hebrew.

1. "Thou shalt *not* deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt *not* oppress him." Deut. xxxiii. 15, 16.

2. "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim *Liberty* throughout *all* the land, unto *all* the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a Jubilee unto you." Deut. xxv. 10.

Here, then, we see that by this first law, the *door of Freedom was opened wide to every servant who* had any cause whatever for complaint; if he was unhappy with his master, all he had to do was to leave him, and *no man* had a right to deliver him back to him again: and not only so, but the absconded servant was to *choose* where he should live, and no Jew was permitted to oppress him. He left his master just as our northern servants leave us; we have no power to compel them to remain with us, and no man has any right to oppress them; they go and dwell in that place where it chooseth them, and live just where they like. Is it so at the South? Is the poor runaway slave protected *by law* from the violence of that master whose oppression and cruelty has driven him from his plantation or his house? No! no! Even the free States of the North are compelled to deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto them. By *human* law, under the *Christian Dispensation*, in the *nineteenth century*, we are commanded to do, what *God* more than *three thousand* years ago, under the *Mosaic Dispensation*, *positively commanded* the Jews *not* to do. In the wide domain even of our free states, there is not *one* city of refuge for the poor runaway fugitive; not one spot upon which he can stand and say, I am a free man—I am protected in my rights as a *man*, by the strong arm of the law; no! *not*

one. How long the North will thus shake hands with the South in sin, I know not. How long she will stand by like the persecutor Saul *consenting* unto the death of Stephen, and keeping the raiment of them that slew him, I know not; but one thing I do know, the *guilt of the North* is increasing in a tremendous ratio as light is pouring in upon her on the subject and the sin of slavery. As the sun of righteousness climbs higher and higher in the moral heavens, she will stand still more and more abashed as the query is thundered down into her ear, "*Who hath required this at thy hand?*" It will be found *no* excuse then that the Constitution of our country required that *persons bound to service*, escaping from their masters, should be delivered up; no more excuse than was the reason which Adam assigned for eating the forbidden fruit. *He was condemned and punished because* he hearkened to the voice of *his wife*, rather than to the command of his Maker; and *we* will assuredly be condemned and punished for obeying *Man* rather than *God*, if we do not speedily repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Yea, are we not receiving chastisement even *now*?

But by the second of these laws a still more astonishing fact is disclosed. If the first effectually prevented *all involuntary servitude*, the last absolutely forbade even *voluntary servitude being perpetual*. On the great day of atonement, every fiftieth year, the Jubilee trumpet was sounded throughout the land of Judea, and *Liberty* was proclaimed to *all* the inhabitants thereof. I will not say that the servants' *chains* fell off, and their *manacles* were burst, for there is no evidence that Jewish servants *ever* felt the weight of iron chains, and collars, and handcuffs; but I do say, that even the man who had voluntarily sold himself, and the *heathen* who had been sold to a Hebrew master, were set free, the one as well as the other. This law was evidently designed to prevent the oppression of the poor, and the possibility of such a thing as *perpetual servitude* existing among them.

Where, then, I would ask, is the warrant, the justification, or the palliation of American Slavery from Hebrew servitude? How many of the southern slaves would now be in bondage according to the laws of Moses? Not one. You may observe that I have carefully avoided using the term *slavery* when speaking of Jewish servitude; and simply for this reason, that *no such thing* existed among that people; the word translated servant does *not* mean *slave*, it is the same that is applied to Abraham, to Moses, to Elisha, and the prophets generally. *Slavery*, then, *never* existed under the Jewish Dispensation at all, and I cannot but regard it as an aspersion on the character of Him who is "glorious in holiness," for any one to assert that "*God sanctioned, yea, COMMANDED slavery* under the old dispensation." I would fain lift my feeble voice to vindicate Jehovah's character from so foul a slander. If slaveholders are determined to hold slaves as long as they can, let them not dare to say that the God of mercy and of truth *ever* sanctioned such a system of cruelty and wrong. It is blasphemy against Him.

We have seen that the code of laws framed by Moses with re-

gard to servants, was designed to *protect them as men and women* : to secure to them their *rights as human beings* : to guard them from oppression, and defend them from violence of every kind. Let us now turn to the Slave laws of the South and West, and examine them too. I will give you the substance only, because I fear I should trespass too much on your time, were I to quote them at length.

1. *Slavery* is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants to the latest posterity.

2. The labour of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labour, the amount of toil, the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the human brute; and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.*

3. The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts or taxes either of a living or dead master. Sold at auction, either individually, or in lots to suit the purchaser, he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

4. Slaves can make no contracts, and have no *legal* right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong in point of law to their masters.

5. Neither a slave nor a free coloured person can be a witness against any *white*, or free person, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit, if such testimony would be for the benefit of a *slave*; but they may give testimony *against a fellow slave*, or free coloured man, even in cases affecting life, if the *master* is to reap the advantage of it.

6. The slave may be punished at his master's discretion,—without trial,—without any means of legal redress; whether his offence be real or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or persons he may choose to appoint.

7. The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under *any* circumstances: *his* only safety consists in the fact that his *owner* may bring suit and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labour.

8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

* There are laws in some of the slave states, limiting the labour which the master may require of the slave to fourteen hours daily. In some of the states there are laws requiring the masters to furnish a certain amount of food and clothing, as for instance, *one quart* of corn per day, or *one peck* per week, or *one bushel* per month, and "*one linen shirt and pantaloons for the summer, and a linen shirt and woollen great-coat and pantaloons for the winter,*" &c. But "*still,*" to use the language of Judge Stroud, "*the slave is entirely under the control of his master,—is unprovided with a protector,—and, especially as he cannot be a witness or make complaint in any known mode against his master. the apparent object of these laws may always be defeated.*"—ED.

9. The slave is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations.

10. The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.

11. The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation.

12. The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.

13. There is in this country a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the *white* man, is considered highly criminal in the *slave*; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished in the negro with death.

14. The laws operate most oppressively upon free people of colour.*

Shall I ask you now, my friends, to draw the *parallel* between Jewish *servitude* and American *slavery*? No! For there is *no likeness* in the two systems; I ask you rather to mark the contrast. The laws of Moses *protected servants* in their *rights* as *men and women*, guarded them from oppression, and defended them from wrong. The Code Noir of the South *robs the slave of all his rights* as a *man*, reduces him to a chattel personal, and defends the *master* in the exercise of the most unnatural and unwarrantable power over his slave. They each bear the impress of the hand which formed them. The attributes of justice and mercy are shadowed out in the Hebrew code; those of injustice and cruelty in the Code Noir of America. Truly it was wise in the slaveholders of the South to declare their slaves to be "chattels personal;" for before they could be robbed of wages, wives, children, and friends, it was absolutely necessary to deny they were human beings. It is wise in them to keep them in abject ignorance, for the strong man armed must be bound before we can spoil his house,—the powerful intellect of man must be bound down with the iron chains of nescience before we can rob him of his rights as a man; we must reduce him to a *thing* before we can claim the right to set our feet upon his neck, because it was only *all things* which were originally *put under the feet of man* by the Almighty and Beneficent Father of all, who has declared himself to be *no respecter* of persons, whether red, white, or black.

But some have even said that Jesus Christ did not condemn slavery. To this I reply, that our holy Redeemer lived and preached among the Jews only. The laws which Moses enacted fifteen hundred years previous to his appearance among them, had never been annulled, and these laws protected every servant in Palestine. If, then, he did not condemn Jewish servitude, this does not prove that he would not have condemned such a monstrous system as that of American *slavery*, if that had existed among them. But did not Jesus condemn slavery? Let us examine some of his precepts. "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*" Let every slaveholder apply these queries to his own heart:—Am *I* willing to be a slave? Am *I*

* See Mrs Child's Appeal, Chap. II.

willing to see *my* wife the slave of another? Am *I* willing to see my mother a slave, or my father, my sister, or my brother? If *not*, then in holding others as slaves, I am doing what I would *not* wish to be done to me, or any relative I have; and thus have I broken this golden rule which was given *me* to walk by.

But some slaveholders have said, "we were never in bondage to any man," and therefore the yoke of bondage would be insufferable to us, but slaves are accustomed to it, their backs are fitted to the burden. Well, I am willing to admit that you who have lived in freedom would find slavery even more oppressive than the poor slave does, but then you may try this question in another form.—"Am I willing to reduce *my little child* to slavery?" You know that *if it is brought up a slave* it will never know any contrast, between freedom and bondage; its back will become fitted to the burden just as the negro child's does—*not by nature*—but by daily, violent pressure, in the same way that the head of the Indian child becomes flattened by the boards in which it is bound. It has been justly remarked that "*God never made a slave*;" he made man upright; his back was *not* made to carry burdens, nor his neck to wear a yoke; and the *man* must be crushed within him, before *his* back can be *fitted* to the burden of perpetual slavery; and that his back is *not* fitted to it, is manifest by the insurrections that so often disturb the peace and security of slaveholding countries. Who ever heard of a rebellion of the beasts of the field; and why not? simply because *they* were all placed *under the feet of man*, into whose hand they were delivered; it was originally designed that they should serve him, therefore their necks have been formed for the yoke, and their backs for the burden; but *not so with man*, intellectual, immortal man! I appeal to you, my friends, as mothers; Are you willing to enslave *your* children? You start back with horror and indignation at such a question. But why, if slavery is *no wrong* to those upon whom it is imposed? why, if, as has often been said, slaves are happier than their masters—free from the cares and perplexities of providing for themselves and their families! why not place *your children* in the way of being supported without your having the trouble to provide for them, or they for themselves? Do you not perceive that as soon as this golden rule of action is applied to *yourselves*, that you involuntarily shrink from the test; as soon as *your* actions are weighed in *this* balance of the sanctuary, that *you are found wanting*? Try yourselves by another of the Divine precepts,—"*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*" Can we love a man *as* we love *ourselves*, if we do, and continue to do, unto him, what we would not wish any one to do to us? Look, too, at Christ's example; what does he say of himself? "*I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.*" Can you for a moment imagine the meek, and lowly, and compassionate Saviour, a *slaveholder*? do you not shudder at this thought as much as at that of his being a *warrior*? But why, if slavery is not sinful?

Again, it has been said, the Apostle Paul did not condemn Slavery, for he sent Onesimus back to Philemon. I do not think

it can be said he sent him back, for no coercion was made use of. Onesimus was not thrown into prison, and then sent back in chains to his master, as your runaway slaves often are. This could not possibly have been the case, because you know Paul, as a Jew, was *bound to protect* the runaway: *he had no right* to send any fugitive back to his master. The state of the case then seems to have been this. Onesimus had been an unprofitable servant to Philemon, and left him; he afterward became converted under the Apostle's preaching, and seeing that he had been to blame in his conduct, and desiring by future fidelity to atone for past error, he wished to return, and the Apostle gave him the letter we now have as a recommendation to Philemon, informing him of the conversion of Onesimus, and entreating him, as "Paul the aged," "to receive him, *not* now as a *servant*, but *above* a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord. If thou count *me* therefore as a partner, *receive him as myself*." This, then, surely, cannot be forced into a justification of the practice of returning runaway slaves back to their masters, to be punished with cruel beatings and scourgings as they often are. Besides the word *δουλος*, here translated servant, is the same that is made use of in Matt. xviii. 27. Now it appears that this servant owed his lord ten thousand talents; he possessed property to a vast amount. Onesimus could not then have been a *slave*, for slaves do not own their wives, or children; no, not even their own bodies, much less property. But again, the servitude which the apostle was accustomed to, must have been very different from American slavery; for he says, "the heir (or son), as long as he is a child, differeth *nothing from a servant*, though he be lord of all, but is under *tutors* and governors until the time appointed of the father." From this it appears, that the means of *instruction* were provided for *servants* as well as children; and indeed we know it must have been so among the Jews, because their servants were not permitted to remain in perpetual bondage, and therefore it was absolutely necessary they should be prepared to occupy higher stations in society than those of servants. Is it so at the South, my friends? Is the daily bread of instruction provided for *your slaves*? are their minds enlightened, and they gradually prepared to rise from the grade of menials into that of *free*, independent members of the state? Let your own statute book, and your own daily experience, answer these questions.

If this apostle sanctioned *slavery*, why did he exhort masters thus, in his epistle to the Ephesians, "and ye, masters, do the same things unto them (*i. e.* perform your duties to your servants as unto Christ, not unto me), *forbearing threatening*; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is *there respect of persons with him*." And in Colossians, "Masters give unto your servants that which is *just and equal*, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." Let slaveholders only *obey* these injunctions of Paul, and I am satisfied slavery would soon be abolished. If he thought it sinful even to *threaten* servants, surely he must have thought it sinful to flog and to beat them with sticks and paddles;

indeed, when delineating the character of a bishop, he expressly names this as one feature of it, "*no striker.*" Let masters give unto their servants that which is *just* and *equal*, and all that vast system of unrequited labour would crumble into ruin. Yes, and if they once felt they had no right to the *labour* of their servants without pay, surely they could not think they had a right to the wives, the children, and the bodies of slaves. Again, how can it be said Paul sanctioned slavery, when, as though to put this matter beyond all doubt, in that black catalogue of sins enumerated in his first epistle to Timothy, he mentions "*menstealers,*" which word may be translated "*slavedealers.*" But you may say, we all despise slavedealers as much as any one can; they are never admitted into genteel or respectable society. And why not? Is it not because even you shrink back from the idea of associating with those who make their fortunes by trading in the bodies and souls of men, women, and children? whose daily work it is to break human hearts, by tearing wives from their husbands, and children from their parents? But why hold slavedealers as despicable, if their trade is lawful and virtuous? and why despise them more than the *gentlemen of fortune and standing* who employ them as *their* agents? Why more than the *professors of religion* who barter their fellow-professors to them for gold and silver? We do not despise the land agent, or the physician, or the merchant: and why? Simply, because their professions are virtuous and honourable; and if the trade of men-jobbers was honourable, you would not despise them either. There is no difference in *principle*, in *Christian ethics*, between the despised slavedealer, and the *Christian* who buys slaves from, or sells slaves to him. Indeed, if slaves were not wanted by the respectable, the wealthy, and the religious in a community, there would be no slaves in that community, and of course no *slavedealers*. It is then the *Christians*, and the *honourable men and women* of the South, who are the *main pillars* of this grand temple built to Mammon and to Moloch. It is the *most enlightened* in every country who are *most* to blame when any public sin is supported by public opinion: hence Isaiah says, "*When the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, (then) I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.*" And was it not so? Open the historical records of that age: was not Israel carried into captivity B. C. 606? Judah B. C. 588? and the stout heart of the heathen monarchy not punished until B. C. 536, fifty-two years *after* Judah's, and seventy years *after* Israel's captivity, when it was overthrown by Cyrus, king of Persia? Hence, too, the apostle Peter says, "*judgment must begin at the house of God.*" Surely this would not be the case, if the *professors of religion* were not *most worthy* of blame.

But it may be asked, why are *they* most culpable? I will tell you, my friends. It is because sin is imputed to us just in proportion to the spiritual light we receive. Thus the prophet Amos says, in the name of Jehovah, "*You only* have I known of all the families of the earth; *therefore* I will punish *you* for all your ini-

quities." Hear, too, the doctrine of our Lord on this important subject: "The servant who *knew* his Lord's will, and *prepared not* himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with *many stripes*:" And why? "For unto whomsoever *much* is given, of him shall *much* be required; and to whom men have committed *much*, of him they will ask the *more*." Oh! then, that the *Christians* of the south would ponder these things in their hearts, and awake to the vast responsibilities which rest *upon them* at this important crisis.

I have thus, I think, clearly proved to you seven propositions, viz.: First, that slavery is contrary to the declaration of our independence. Second, that it is contrary to the first charter of human rights given to Adam, and renewed to Noah. Third, that the fact of slavery having been the subject of prophecy, furnishes *no* excuse whatever to slavedealers. Fourth, that no such system existed under the patriarchal dispensation. Fifth, that *slavery* *never* existed under the Jewish dispensation; but so far otherwise, that every servant was placed under the *protection of law*, and care taken, not only to prevent all *involuntary* servitude, but all *voluntary perpetual* bondage. Sixth, that slavery in America reduces a *man* to a *thing*, a "chattel personal," *robs him* of *all* his rights as a *human being*, fetters both his mind and body, and protects the *master* in the most unnatural and unreasonable power, whilst it *throws him out* of the protection of law. Seventh, that slavery is contrary to the example and precepts of our holy and merciful Redeemer, and of his apostles.

But, perhaps you will be ready to query, why appeal to *women* on this subject? *We* do not make the laws which perpetuate slavery. *No* legislative power is vested in *us*; *we* can do nothing to overthrow the system, even if we wished to do so. To this I reply, I know you do not make the laws, but I also know that *you are the wives and mothers, the sisters and daughters, of those who do*; and if you really suppose *you* can do nothing to overthrow slavery, you are greatly mistaken. You can do much in every way; four things I will name. 1st, You can read on this subject. 2d, You can pray over this subject. 3d, You can speak on this subject. 4th, You can *act* on this subject. I have placed reading before praying, not because I regard it more important, but because, in order to pray aright, we must understand what we are praying for; it is only then we can "pray with the understanding and the spirit also."

1. Read, then, on the subject of slavery. Search the Scriptures daily, whether the things I have told you are true. Other books and papers might be a great help to you in this investigation, but they are not necessary, and it is hardly probable that your Committees of Vigilance will allow you to have any other. The *Bible*, then, is the book I want you to read in the spirit of inquiry, and the spirit of prayer. Even the enemies of Abolitionists acknowledge that their doctrines are drawn from it. In the great mob in Boston, last autumn, when the books and papers of the Anti-

Slavery Society were thrown out of the windows of their office, one individual laid hold of the Bible, and was about tossing it out to the ground, when another reminded him that it was the Bible he had in his hand. "*O ! 'tis all one,*" he replied, and out went the sacred volume along with the rest. We thank him for the acknowledgment. Yes, "*it is all one,*" for our books and papers are mostly commentaries on the Bible, and the Declaration. Read the *Bible* then: it contains the words of Jesus, and they are spirit and life. Judge for yourselves, whether *he sanctioned* such a system of oppression and crime.

2. Pray over this subject. When you have entered into your closets, and shut to the doors, then pray to your father who seeth in secret, that he would open your eyes to see whether slavery is *sinful*, and if it is, that he would enable you to bear a faithful, open, and unshrinking testimony against it, and to do whatsoever your hands find to do, leaving the consequences entirely to Him, who still says to us, whenever we try to reason away duty from the fear of consequences, "*What is that to thee, follow thou me.*" Pray also for that poor slave, that he may be kept patient and submissive under his hard lot, until God is pleased to open the door of freedom to him, without violence or bloodshed. Pray, too, for the master, that his heart may be softened, and he made willing to acknowledge, as Joseph's brethren did, "Verily we are guilty concerning our brother," before he will be compelled to add, in consequence of Divine judgment, "therefore is all this evil come upon us." Pray also for all your brethren and sisters who are labouring in the righteous cause of Emancipation in the Northern States, England, and the world. There is great encouragement for prayer in these words of our Lord,—"*Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it to you.*" Pray then without ceasing, in the closet and the social circle.

3. Speak on this subject. It is through the tongue, the pen, and the press, that truth is principally propagated. Speak, then, to your relatives, your friends, your acquaintances, on the subject of slavery; be not afraid if you are conscientiously convinced it is *sinful*, to say so openly, but calmly, and to let your sentiments be known. If you are served by the slaves of others, try to ameliorate their condition as much as possible; never aggravate their faults, and thus add fuel to the fire of anger already kindled in a master and mistress's bosom; remember their extreme ignorance, and consider them as your Heavenly Father does, the *less* culpable on this account, even when they do wrong things. Discountenance *all* cruelty to them, all starvation, all corporal chastisement; these may brutalize and *break* their spirits, but will never bend them to willing, cheerful obedience. If possible, see that they are comfortably and *seasonably* fed, whether in the house or the field; it is unreasonable and cruel to expect slaves to wait for their breakfast until eleven o'clock, when they rise at five or six. Do all you can to induce their owners to clothe them well, and to allow them many little indulgences which would contribute to their comfort. Above all, try to persuade your husband, father, bro-

thers, and sons, that *slavery is a crime against God and man*, and that it is a great sin to keep *human beings* in such abject ignorance; to deny them the privilege of learning to read and write. The Catholics are universally condemned for denying the Bible to the common people, but *slaveholders must not* blame them, for *they* are doing the *very same thing*, and for the very same reason, neither of these systems can bear the light which bursts from the pages of that Holy Book. And lastly, endeavour to inculcate submission on the part of the slaves, but whilst doing this be faithful in pleading the cause of the oppressed.

“Will you behold unheeding,
Life’s holiest feelings crushed;
When woman’s heart is bleeding,
Shall woman’s voice be hushed?”

4. Act on this subject. Some of you *own* slaves yourselves. If you believe slavery is *sinful*, set them at liberty, “undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free.” If they wish to remain with you, pay them wages; if not, let them leave you. Should they remain, teach them, and have them taught the common branches of an English education; they have minds, and those minds *ought to be improved*. So precious a talent as intellect, never was given to be wrapped in a napkin, and buried in the earth. It is the *duty* of all, as far as they can, to improve their own mental faculties, because we are commanded to love God with *all our minds*, as well as with all our hearts, and we commit a great sin, if we *forbid or prevent* that cultivation of the mind in others, which would enable them to perform this duty. Teach your servants then to read, &c., and encourage them to believe it is their *duty* to learn, if it were only that they might read the Bible.

But some of you will say, we can neither free our slaves nor teach them to read, for the laws of our state forbid it. Be not surprised when I say such wicked laws *ought to be no barrier* in the way of your duty, and I appeal to the Bible to prove this position. What was the conduct of Shiphrah and Puah, when the king of Egypt issued his cruel mandate, with regard to the Hebrew children? “*They feared God*, and did *not* as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive.” Did these *women* do right in disobeying that monarch? “*Therefore* (says the sacred text), *God dealt well* with them, and made them houses,” Ex. i. What was the conduct of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, when Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image in the plain of Dura, and commanded all people, nations, and languages, to fall down and worship it? “Be it known unto thee (said these faithful *Jews*), O king, that *we will not* serve thy gods, nor worship the image which thou hast set up.” Did these men *do right in disobeying the law* of their sovereign? Let their miraculous deliverance from the burning fiery furnace, answer; Dan. iii. What was the conduct of Daniel, when Darius made a firm decree that no one should ask a petition of any man or God for thirty days?

Did the prophet cease to pray? No! "When Daniel *knew that the writing was signed*, he went into his house, and his windows being *open* toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime." Did Daniel do right thus to *break* the law of his king? Let his wonderful deliverance out of the mouths of the lions answer; Dan. vii. Look, too, at the Apostles Peter and John. When the rulers of the Jews, "*commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus*," what did they say? "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." And what did they do? "They spake the word of God with boldness, and with great power gave the Apostles witness of the *resurrection* of the Lord Jesus;" although *this* was the very doctrine, for the preaching of which, they had just been cast into prison, and further threatened. Did these men do right? I leave *you* to answer, who now enjoy the benefits of their labours and sufferings, in that Gospel they dared to preach when positively commanded *not to teach any more* in the name of Jesus. Acts iv.

But some of you may say, if we do free our slaves they will be taken up and sold, therefore there will be no use in doing it. Peter and John might just as well have said we will not preach the Gospel, for if we do, we shall be taken up and put in prison, therefore there will be no use in our preaching. *Consequences*, my friends, belong no more to *you*, than they did to these apostles. Duty is ours, and events are God's. If you think slavery is sinful, all *you* have to do is to set your slaves at liberty; do all you can to protect them; and in humble faith and fervent prayer, commend them to your common Father. He can take care of them; but if for wise purposes he sees fit to allow them to be sold, this will afford you an opportunity of testifying openly, wherever you go, against the crime of *manstealing*. Such an act will be *clear robbery*, and if exposed, might, under the Divine direction, do the cause of Emancipation more good, than any thing that could happen:—for, "He makes even the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain."

I know that this doctrine of obeying *God*, rather than man, will be considered as dangerous, and heretical by many, but I am not afraid openly to avow it, because it is the doctrine of the Bible; but I would not be understood to advocate resistance to any law, however oppressive, if, in obeying it, I was not obliged to commit *sin*. If, for instance, there was a law, which imposed imprisonment or a fine upon me if I manumitted a slave, I would on no account resist that law, I would set the slave free, and then go to prison, or pay the fine. If a law commands me to *sin*, *I will break it*; if it calls me to *suffer*, I will let it take its course *unresistingly*. The doctrine of *blind* obedience and *unqualified* submission to *any human* power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is the doctrine of despotism, and ought to have no place among Republicans and Christians.

But you will perhaps say, such a course of conduct would inevi-

ably expose us to great suffering. Yes! my christian friends, I believe it would, but this will *not* excuse you or any one else for the neglect of *duty*. If Prophets and Apostles, Martyrs and Reformers, had not been willing to suffer for the truth's sake, where would the world have been now? If they had said, we cannot speak the truth, we cannot do what we believe is right, because the *laws of our country or public opinion are against us*, where would our holy religion have been now? The Prophets were stoned, imprisoned, and killed by the Jews. And why? Because they exposed and openly rebuked public sins; they opposed public opinion; had they held their peace, they all might have lived in ease, and died in favour with a wicked generation. Why were the Apostles persecuted from city to city, stoned, incarcerated, beaten, and crucified? Because they dared to *speack the truth*; to tell the Jews, boldly and fearlessly, that *they* were the *murderers* of the Lord of Glory, and that, however great a stumbling block the Cross might be to them, there was no other name given under heaven by which men could be saved, but the name of Jesus. Because they declared, even at Athens, the seat of learning and refinement, the self-evident truth, "that they be no gods that are made with men's hands," and exposed to the Grecians the foolishness of worldly wisdom, and the impossibility of salvation but through Christ, whom they despised on account of the ignominious death he died. Because at Rome, the proud mistress of the world, they thundered out the terrors of the law upon that idolatrous, war-making, and slaveholding community. Why were the martyrs stretched upon the rack, gibbeted, and burnt, the scorn and diversion of a Nero, whilst their tarred and burning bodies sent up a light which illuminated the Roman capital? Why were the Waldenses hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains of Piedmont, and slain with the sword of the Duke of Savoy, and the proud monarch of France? Why were the Presbyterians chased like the partridge over the highlands of Scotland,—the Methodists pumped upon, and stoned, and pelted with rotten eggs,—the Quakers incarcerated in filthy prisons, beaten, whipped at the cart's tail, banished, and hanged? Because they dared to *speack the truth*; to *break* the unrighteous *laws* of their country; and chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, "not accepting deliverance," even under the gallows. Why were Luther and Calvin persecuted and excommunicated, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer burnt? Because they fearlessly proclaimed the truth, though that truth was contrary to public opinion, and the authority of Ecclesiastical councils and conventions. Now, all this vast amount of human suffering might have been saved. All these Prophets and Apostles, Martyrs and Reformers, might have lived and died in peace with all men; but following the example of their great pattern, "they despised the shame, endured the cross, and are now set down on the right hand of the throne of God," having received the glorious welcome of "well *done* good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord."

But you may say we are *women*, how can *our* hearts endure persecution? And why not? Have not *women* stood up in all the dignity and strength of moral courage to be the leaders of the people, and to bear a faithful testimony for the truth whenever the providence of God has called them to do so? Are there no *women* in that noble army of martyrs who are now singing the song of Moses and the Lamb? Who led out the women of Israel from the house of bondage, striking the timbrel, and singing the song of deliverance on the banks of that sea, whose waters stood up like walls of crystal, to open a passage for their escape? It was a *woman*; Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Moses and Aaron. Who went up with Barak to Kadesh to fight against Jabin, King of Canaan, into whose hand Israel had been sold, because of their iniquities? It was a *woman*! Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, the judge, as well as the prophetess of that backsliding people; Judges iv. 9. Into whose hands was Sisera, the captain of Jabin's host delivered? Into the hand of a *woman*. Jael the wife of Heber! Judges vi. 21. Who dared to *speak the truth* concerning those judgments which were coming upon Judea, when Josiah, alarmed at finding that his people "had not kept the word of the Lord, to do after all that was written in the book of the Law," sent to inquire of the Lord concerning these things? It was a *woman*. Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. Who was chosen to deliver the whole Jewish nation, from that murderous decree of Persia's King, which wicked Haman had obtained by calumny and fraud? It was a *woman*; Esther the Queen. Yes, weak and trembling *woman* was the instrument appointed by God, to reverse the bloody mandate of the eastern monarch, and save the *whole visible church* from destruction. What human voice first proclaimed to Mary that she should be the mother of our Lord? It was a *woman*! Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias; Luke i. 42, 43. Who united with the good old Simeon in giving thanks publicly in the temple, when the child, Jesus, was presented there by his parents, "and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem?" It was a *woman*! Anna the prophetess. Who first proclaimed Christ as the true Messiah in the streets of Samaria, once the capital of the ten tribes? It was a *woman*! Who ministered to the Son of God whilst on earth, a despised and persecuted Reformer, in the humble garb of a carpenter? They were *women*! Who followed the rejected King of Israel, as his fainting footsteps trod the road to Calvary? "A great company of people and of *women*;" and it is remarkable that to *them alone*, he turned and addressed the pathetic language, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." Ah! who sent unto the Roman Governor when he was set down on the judgment seat, saying unto him, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him?" It was a *woman*! the wife of Pilate. Although "*he knew* that for envy the Jews had delivered Christ," yet *he* consented to surrender the Son of God into the hands of a brutal soldiery, after having himself scourged his naked

body. Had the *wife* of Pilate sat upon that judgment seat, what would have been the result of the trial of this "just person?"

And who last hung round the cross of Jesus, on the mountain of Golgotha? Who first visited the sepulchre early in the morning on the first day of the week, carrying sweet spices to embalm his precious body, not knowing that it was incorruptible, and could not be holden by the bands of death? These were *women*! To whom did he *first* appear after his resurrection? It was to a *woman*! Mary Magdalene; Mark xvi. 9. Who gathered with the apostles to wait at Jerusalem, in prayer and supplication, for "the promise of the Father;" the spiritual blessing of the Great High Priest of his Church, who had entered, *not* into the splendid temple of Solomon, there to offer the blood of bulls and of goats, and the smoking censer upon the golden altar, but into Heaven itself, there to present his intercessions, after having "given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour?" *Women* were among that holy company; Acts i. 14. And did *women* wait in vain? Did those who had ministered to his necessities, followed in his train, and wept at his crucifixion, wait in vain? No! No! Did the cloven tongues of fire descend upon the heads of *women* as well as men? Yes, my friends, "it sat upon *each of them*;" Acts ii. 3. *Women*, as well as men, were to be living stones in the temple of grace, and therefore *their* heads were consecrated by the descent of the Holy Ghost, as well as those of men. Were *women* recognized as fellow-labourers in the gospel field? They were! Paul says, in his epistle to the Philippians, "help those *women* who laboured with me in the gospel;" Phil. iv. 3.

But this is not all. Roman *women* were burnt at the stake; *their* delicate limbs were torn joint from joint by the ferocious beasts of the Amphitheatre, and tossed by the wild bull in his fury, for the diversion of that idolatrous, warlike, and slaveholding people. Yes, *women* suffered under the ten persecutions of heathen Rome, with the most unshrinking constancy and fortitude; not all the entreaties of friends, nor the claims of new born infancy, nor the cruel threats of enemies, could make *them* sprinkle one grain of incense upon the altars of Roman idols. Come now with me to the beautiful valleys of Piedmont. Whose blood stains the green sward, and decks the wild flowers with colours not their own, and smokes on the sword of persecuting France? It is *woman's*, as well as man's! Yes, *women* were accounted as sheep from the slaughter, and were cut down as the tender saplings of the wood.

But time would fail me to tell of all those hundreds and thousands of *women* who perished in the low countries of Holland, when Alva's sword of vengeance was unsheathed against the Protestants, when the Catholic Inquisitions of Europe became the merciless executioners of vindictive wrath upon those who dared to worship God, instead of bowing down in holy adoration before "my Lord God, the *Pope*," and when England, too, burnt her Ann Ascoes at the stake of martyrdom. Suffice it to say, that the

Church, after having been driven from Judea to Rome, and from Rome to Piedmont, and from Piedmont to England, and from England to Holland, at last stretched her fainting wings over the dark bosom of the Atlantic; and found, on the shores of a great wilderness, a refuge from tyranny and oppression, as she thought; but *even here* (the warm blush of shame mantles my cheek as I write it), *even here, woman* was beaten and banished, imprisoned, and hung upon the gallows, a trophy to the Cross.

And what, I would ask in conclusion, have *women* done for the great and glorious cause of Emancipation? Who wrote that pamphlet which moved the heart of Wilberforce to pray over the wrongs, and his tongue to plead the cause of the oppressed African? It was a *woman*, Elizabeth Heyrick. Who laboured assiduously to keep the sufferings of the slave continually before the British public? They were *women*. And how did they do it? By their needles, paint-brushes, and pens; by speaking the truth, and petitioning Parliament for the abolition of slavery. And what was the effect of their labours? Read it in the Emancipation bill of Great Britain. Read it in the present state of her West India Colonies. Read it in the impulse which has been given to the cause of freedom in the United States of America. Have English women, then, done so much for the negro, and shall American women do nothing? Oh no! Already are there sixty female Anti-Slavery Societies in operation.* These are doing just what the English women did: telling the story of the coloured man's wrongs; praying for his deliverance; and presenting his kneeling image constantly before the public eye on bags and needle-books, card-racks, pen-wipers, pin-cushions, &c. Even the children of the north have inscribed on their handy-work, "May the points of our needles prick the slaveholder's conscience." Some of the reports of these Societies exhibit not only considerable talent, but a deep sense of religious duty, and a determination to persevere through evil as well as good report, until every scourge, and every shackle, is buried under the feet of the manumitted slave.

The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Boston was called last autumn to a severe trial of their faith and constancy. They were mobbed by "the gentlemen of property and standing," in that city, at their anniversary meeting; and their lives were jeopardized by an infuriated crowd; but their conduct on that occasion did credit to our sex, and affords a full assurance that they will *never* abandon the cause of the slave. The pamphlet, "Right and Wrong in Boston," issued by them, in which a particular account is given of that "mob of broad cloth in broad day," does equal credit to the head and the heart of her who wrote it. I wish my Southern sisters could read it; they would then understand that the women of the North have engaged in this work from a sense of *religious duty*, and that nothing will ever induce them to take their hands from it until it is fully accomplished. They feel no hostility to you, no bitterness

* The number has increased since the above was written. There are, besides, about eight hundred male associations, and upwards of seventy agents, constantly lecturing, and forming new auxiliaries.—G. T.

or wrath; they rather sympathize in your trials and difficulties; but they well know, that the first thing to be done to help you, is to pour in the light of truth on your minds, to urge you to reflect on, and pray over the subject. This is all *they* can do for you, *you* must work out your own deliverance with fear and trembling; and with the direction and blessing of God, *you can do it*. Northern women may labour to produce a correct public opinion at the North, but if Southern women sit down in listless indifference and criminal idleness, public opinion cannot be rectified and purified at the South. It is manifest to every reflecting mind, that slavery must be abolished; the era in which we live, and the light which is overspreading the whole world on this subject, clearly show that the time cannot be distant when it will be done. Now, there are only two ways in which it can be effected, by *moral* power, or *physical* force, and it is for *you* to choose which of these you prefer. Slavery always has, and always will, produce insurrections wherever it exists, because it is a violation of the natural order of things, and no human power can much longer perpetuate it. The opposers of abolitionists fully believe this; one of them remarked to me not long since, "there is no doubt there will be a most terrible overturning at the South in a few years, such cruelty and wrong must be visited with Divine vengeance soon." Abolitionists believe, too, that this must inevitably be the case if you do not repent, and they are not willing to leave you to perish without entreating you to save yourselves from destruction; well may they say with the apostle, "am I then your enemy because I tell you the truth," and warn you to flee from impending judgments.

But why, my dear friends, have I thus been endeavouring to lead you through the history of more than three thousand years, and to point you to that great cloud of witnesses who have gone before, "from works to rewards?" Have I been seeking to magnify the sufferings, and exalt the character of woman, that she "might have praise of men?" No! no! my object has been to arouse *you*, as the wives and mothers, the daughters and sisters of the South, to a sense of your duty as *women*, and as Christian women, on that great subject, which has already shaken our country, from the St Lawrence and the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the shores of the Atlantic; *and will continue mightily to shake it*, until the polluted temple of slavery fall and crumble into ruin. I would say unto each one of you, "what meanest thou, O sleeper! arise and call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us that we perish not." Perceive you not that dark cloud of vengeance which hangs over our boasting Republic? Saw you not the lightnings of Heaven's wrath in the flame which leaped from the Indian's torch to the roof of yonder dwelling, and lighted with its horrid glare the darkness of midnight? Heard you not the thunders of Divine anger, as the distant roar of the cannon came rolling onward from the Texian country, where Protestant American Rebels are fighting with Mexican Republicans—for what? For the re-establishment of *slavery*; yes! of American slavery in the bosom of a Catholic Republic, where that system of robbery, violence, and

wrong, had been legally abolished for seven years.* Yes! citizens of the United States, after plundering Mexico of her land, are now engaged in deadly conflict for the privilege of fastening chains, and collars, and manacles—upon whom? upon the subjects of some foreign prince? No! upon native born American Republican citizens, although the fathers of these very men declared to the whole world, while struggling to free themselves from the three-penny taxes of an English king, that they believed it to be a *self-evident* truth that *all men* were created equal, and had an *unalienable right to liberty*.

Well may the poet exclaim in bitter sarcasm,

“ The fustian flag that proudly waves,
In solemn mockery o’er a land of slaves.”

Can you not, my friends, understand the signs of the times; do you not see the sword of retributive justice hanging over the South, or are you still slumbering at your posts?—Are there no Shiphrahs, no Puahs among you, who will dare in Christian firmness and Christian meekness, to refuse to obey the *wicked laws* which require *woman to enslave, to degrade, and to brutalize woman*? Are there no Miriams who would rejoice to lead out the captive daughters of the Southern States to liberty and light? Are there no Huldahs there who will dare to *speak the truth* concerning the sins of the people, and those judgments, which it requires no prophet’s eye to see, must follow, if repentance is not speedily sought? Is there no Esther among you who will plead for the poor devoted slave? Read the history of this Persian queen, it is full of instruction; she at first refused to plead for the Jews; but hear the words of Mordecai, “ Think not within thyself that *thou* shalt escape in the king’s house more than all the Jews, for *if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time*, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place: but *thou and thy father’s house shall be destroyed*.” Listen, too, to her magnanimous reply to this powerful appeal; “ *I will go in unto the king, which is not according to law, and if I perish, I perish*.” Yes! if there were but *one* Esther at the South, she *might* save her country from ruin; but let the Christian women there arise, as the Christian women of Great Britain did, in the majesty of moral power, and that salvation is certain. Let them embody themselves in societies, and send petitions up to their different legislatures, entreating their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons, to abolish the institution of slavery; no longer to subject *woman* to the scourge and the chain, to mental darkness and moral degradation; no longer to tear husbands from their wives, and children from their parents; no longer to make men, women, and children, work *without wages*; no longer to make their lives bitter in hard bondage; no longer to reduce *American citizens* to the abject condition of *slaves*, of “ chattels personal;” no longer to barter the *image of God* in human shambles for corruptible things such as silver and gold.

* See Appendix, No. I.

The *women of the South can overthrow* this horrible system of oppression and cruelty, licentiousness and wrong. Such appeals to your legislatures would be irresistible, for there is something in the heart of man which *will bend under moral suasion*. There is a swift witness for truth in his bosom, which *will respond to truth* when it is uttered with calmness and dignity. If you could obtain but six signatures to such a petition in only one state, I would say, send up that petition, and be not in the least discouraged by the scoffs and jeers of the heartless, or the resolution of the house to lay it on the table. It will be a great thing if the subject can be introduced into your legislatures in any way, even by *women*, and *they* will be the most likely to introduce it there in the best possible manner, as a matter of *morals and religion*, not of expediency or politics. You may petition, too, the different ecclesiastical bodies of the slave states. Slavery must be attacked with the whole power of truth and the sword of the spirit. You must take it up on *Christian* ground, and fight against it with Christian weapons, whilst your feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. And *you are now* loudly called upon by the cries of the widow and the orphan, to arise and gird yourselves for this great moral conflict, with the whole armour of righteousness upon the right hand and on the left.

There is every encouragement for you to labour and pray, my friends, because the abolition of slavery as well as its existence has been the theme of prophecy. "Ethiopia (says the Psalmist) shall stretch forth her hands unto God." And is she not now doing so? Are not the Christian negroes of the south lifting their hands in prayer for deliverance, just as the Israelites did when their redemption was drawing nigh? Are they not sighing and crying by reason of the hard bondage? And think you that He, of whom it was said, "and God heard their groaning, and their cry came up unto him by reason of the hard bondage," think you that his ear is heavy that he cannot *now* hear the cries of his suffering children? Or that He who raised up a Moses, an Aaron, and a Miriam, to bring them up out of the land of Egypt from the house of bondage, cannot now, with a high hand, and a stretched out arm, save the poor negroes out of the hands of their masters? Surely you believe that his arm is *not* shortened that he cannot save. And would not such a work of mercy redound to his glory? But another string of the harp of prophecy vibrates to the song of deliverance: "But they shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and *none shall make them afraid*; for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it." The *slave* never can do this as long as he is a *slave*; whilst he is a "chattel personal," he can own no property; but the time *is to come* when *every* man is to sit under *his own* vine and *his own* fig-tree, and no domineering driver, or irresponsible master, or irascible mistress, shall make him afraid of the chain or the whip. Hear, too, the sweet tones of another string: "Many shall run to and fro, and *knowledge* shall be increased." Slavery is an insurmountable barrier to the increase of knowledge in every community where it exists; *slavery, then, must*

be abolished before this prediction can be fulfilled. The last chord I shall touch will be this, "They shall *not* hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain."

Slavery, then, must be overthrown before the prophecies can be accomplished; but how are they to be fulfilled? Will the wheels of the millennial car be rolled onward by miraculous power? No! God designs to confer this holy privilege upon *man*; it is through *his* instrumentality that the great and glorious work of reforming the world is to be done. And see you not how the mighty engine of *moral power* is dragging in its rear the Bible and peace societies, anti-slavery and temperance, sabbath schools, moral reform, and missions? or to adopt another figure, do not these seven philanthropic associations compose the beautiful tints in that bow of promise which spans the arch of our moral heaven? Who does not believe, that if these societies were broken up, their constitutions burnt, and the vast machinery with which they are labouring to regenerate mankind was stopped, that the black clouds of vengeance would soon burst over our world, and every city would witness the fate of the devoted cities of the plain? Each one of these societies is walking abroad through the earth scattering the seeds of truth over the wide field of our world, not with the hundred hands of a Briareus, but with a hundred thousand.

Another encouragement for you to labour, my friends, is, that you will have the prayers and co-operation of English and Northern philanthropists.* You will never bend your knees in supplication at the throne of grace for the overthrow of slavery, without meeting there the spirits of other Christians, who will mingle their voices with yours, as the morning or evening sacrifice ascends to God. Yes, the spirit of prayer and of supplication has been poured out upon many, many hearts; there are wrestling Jacobs who will not let go of the prophetic promises of deliverance for the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that are bound. There are Pauls who are saying, in reference to this subject, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" There are Marys sitting in the house now, who are ready to arise and go forth in this work as soon as the message is brought, "the master is come and calleth for thee?" And there are Marthas, too, who have already gone out to meet Jesus, as he bends his footsteps to their brother's grave, and weeps, *not* over the lifeless body of Lazarus bound hand and foot in grave-clothes, but over the politically and intellectually lifeless slave, bound hand and foot in the iron chains of oppression and ignorance. Some may be ready to say, as Martha did, who seemed to expect nothing but sympathy from Jesus, "Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days." She thought it useless to remove the stone and expose the loathsome body of her brother; she could not believe that so great a miracle could be wrought, as to raise *that putrid body* into life; but "Jesus said, take *ye* away the stone; and when *they* had taken away the stone where the dead was laid, and uncovered the body of Lazarus, then it was that "Jesus lifted up his eyes and said.

* See Appendix, No. II.

Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me," &c. "And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth." Yes, some may be ready to say of the coloured race, how can *they* ever be raised politically and intellectually, they have been dead four hundred years? But *we* have *nothing* to do with *how* this is to be done; *our business* is to take away the stone which has covered up the dead body of our brother, to expose the putrid carcass, to show *how* that body has been bound with the grave-clothes of heathen ignorance, and his face with the napkin of prejudice, and having done all it was our duty to do, to stand by the negro's grave, in humble faith and holy hope, waiting to hear the life-giving command of "Lazarus, come forth." This is just what Anti-Slavery Societies are doing; they are taking away the stone from the mouth of the tomb of slavery, where lies the putrid carcass of our brother. They want the pure light of heaven to shine into that dark and gloomy cave; they want all men to see *how* that dead body has been bound, *how* that face has been wrapped in the *napkin of prejudice*; and shall they wait beside that grave in vain? Is not Jesus still the resurrection and the life? Did He come to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that are bound in vain? Did He promise to give beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness unto them that mourn in Zion, and will He refuse to beautify the mind, anoint the head, and throw around the captive negro the mantle of praise for that spirit of heaviness, which has so long bound him down to the ground? Or shall we not rather say with the prophet, "the zeal of the Lord of Hosts *will* perform this?" Yes, his promises are sure, and amen in Christ Jesus, that he will assemble her that halteth, and gather her that is driven out, and her that is afflicted.

But I will now say a few words on the subject of Abolitionism. Doubtless you have all heard Anti-Slavery Societies denounced as insurrectionary and mischievous, fanatical and dangerous. It has been said they publish the most abominable untruths, and that they are endeavouring to excite rebellions at the South. Have you believed these reports, my friends? have *you* also been deceived by these false assertions? Listen to me, then, whilst I endeavour to wipe from the fair character of Abolitionism such unfounded accusations. You know that *I* am a Southerner; you know that my dearest relatives are now in a slave state. Can you for a moment believe I would prove so recreant to the feelings of a daughter and a sister, as to join a society which was seeking to overthrow slavery by falsehood, bloodshed, and murder? I appeal to you who have known and loved me in days that are passed, can *you* believe it? No! my friends. As a Carolinian, I was peculiarly jealous of any movements on this subject; and before I would join an Anti-Slavery Society, I took the precaution of becoming acquainted with some of the leading Abolitionists, of reading their publications and attending their meetings, at which I heard addresses both from coloured and white men; and it was not until I was fully convinced that their principles were *entirely pacific*, and their efforts *only*

moral, that I gave my name as a member to the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia.* Since that time, I have regularly taken the *Liberator*, and read many Anti-Slavery pamphlets and papers and books, and can assure you I *never* have seen a single insurrectionary paragraph, and never read any account of cruelty which I could not believe. Southerners may deny the truth of these accounts, but why do they not *prove* them to be false. Their violent expressions of horror at such accounts being believed, *may* deceive some, but they cannot deceive *me*, for I lived too long in the midst of slavery, not to know what slavery is. When I speak of this system, "I speak that I do know," and I am not at all afraid to assert, that Anti-Slavery publications have *not* overdrawn the monstrous features of slavery at all. And many a Southerner *knows* this as well as I do. A lady in North Carolina remarked to a friend of mine about eighteen months since, "Northerners know nothing at all about slavery; they think it is perpetual bondage only; but of the *depth of degradation* that word involves, they have no conception; if they had, *they would never cease* their efforts until so *horrible* a system was overthrown." She did not know how faithfully some Northern men and Northern women had studied this subject; how diligently they had searched out the cause of "him who had none to help him," and how fearlessly they had told the story of the negro's wrongs. Yes, Northerners know *every* thing about slavery now. This monster of iniquity has been unveiled to the world, her frightful features unmasked, and soon, very soon will she be regarded with no more complacency by the American Republic, than is the idol of Juggernaut, rolling its bloody wheels over the crushed bodies of its prostrate victims.

But you will probably ask, if Anti-Slavery societies are not insurrectionary, why do Northerners tell us they are? Why, I would ask you in return, did Northern senators and Northern representatives give their votes, at the last sitting of congress, for the admission of Arkansas Territory as a State? Take those men, one by one, and ask them in their parlours, do you *approve of slavery*? ask them on *Northern* ground, where they will speak the truth, and I doubt not *every man* of them will tell you, *no!* Why then, I ask, did *they* give their votes to enlarge the mouth of that grave which has already destroyed its tens of thousands? All our enemies tell *us* they are as much anti-slavery as we are. Yes, my friends, thousands who are helping you to bind the fetters of slavery on the negro, despise you in their hearts for doing it; they rejoice that such an institution has not been entailed upon

* I may be permitted to add to the testimony of Miss Grimké, that of the celebrated Dr Channing, who is opposed to the organization and united action of Anti-Slavery Societies.—G. T.

"A body of men and women, more blameless than the abolitionists in their various relations, or more disposed to adopt a rigid construction of the Christian precepts, cannot be found among us." * * "They yield to no party in moral worth."

"As to the charge brought against the abolitionists of stirring up insurrection at the South, I never met the shadow of a proof that this nefarious project was meditated by a single member of their body."—*Dr Channing's letter to J. G. Birney, Esq.*

them. Why then, I would ask, do *they* lend you their help? I will tell you, "they love *the praise of men* more than the praise of God." The Abolition cause has not yet become so popular as to induce them to believe, that by advocating it in congress, they shall sit more securely in their seats there, and like the *chief rulers* in the days of our Saviour, though *many* believed on him, yet they did *not* confess him, lest they should *be put out of the synagogue*; John xii. 42, 43. Or, perhaps like Pilate, thinking they could prevail nothing, and fearing a tumult, they determined to release Barabbas and surrender the just man, the poor innocent slave to be stripped of his rights and scourged. In vain will such men try to wash their hands, and say, with the Roman governor, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person." Northern American statesmen are no more innocent of the crime of slavery, than Pilate was of the murder of Jesus, or Saul of that of Stephen. These are high charges, but I appeal to *their hearts*; I appeal to public opinion ten years from now. Slavery then is a national sin.

But you will say, a great many other Northerners tell us so, who can have no political motives. The interests of the North, you must know, my friends, are very closely combined with those of the South. The Northern merchants and manufacturers are making *their* fortunes out of the *produce of slave labour*; the grocer is selling your rice and sugar; how then can these men bear a testimony against slavery without condemning themselves? But there is another reason, the North is most dreadfully afraid of Amalgamation. She is alarmed at the very idea of a thing so monstrous, as she thinks. And lest this consequence *might* flow from emancipation, she is determined to resist all efforts at emancipation without expatriation. It is not because *she approves of slavery*, or believes it to be "the corner stone of our republic," for she is as much *anti-slavery* as we are; but amalgamation is too horrible to think of. Now I would ask *you*, is it right, is it generous, to refuse the coloured people in this country the advantages of education, and the privilege, or rather the *right*, to follow honest trades and callings merely because they are coloured. The same prejudice exists here against our coloured brethren that existed against the Gentiles in Judea. Great numbers cannot bear the idea of equality, and fearing lest, if they had the same advantages we enjoy, they would become as intelligent, as moral, as religious, and as respectable and wealthy, they are determined to keep them as low as they possibly can. Is this doing as they would be done by? Is this loving their neighbour *as themselves*? Oh! that *such* opposers of Abolitionism would put their souls in the stead of the free coloured man's and obey the apostolic injunction, "remember them that are in bonds *as bound with them*." I will leave you to judge whether the fear of amalgamation ought to induce men to oppose anti-slavery efforts, when *they* believe *slavery* to be *sinful*. Prejudice against colour is the most powerful enemy we have to fight with at the North.*

* I have thrown a few particulars respecting Prejudice, into Appendix III.—G. T.

You need not be surprised, then, at all, at what is said *against* Abolitionists by the North, for they are wielding a two-edged sword, which, even here, cuts through the *cords of caste*, on the one side, and the *bonds of interest* on the other. They are only sharing the fate of other reformers, abused and reviled whilst they are in the minority; but they are neither angry nor discouraged by the invective which has been heaped upon them by slaveholders at the South, and their apologists at the North. They know that when George Fox and William Edmundson were labouring in behalf of the negroes in the West Indies, in 1671, that the very *same* slanders were propagated against them, which are *now* circulated against Abolitionists. Although it was well known that Fox was the founder of a religious sect which repudiated *all* war, and *all* violence, yet *even he* was accused of "endeavouring to excite the slaves to insurrection, and of teaching the negroes to cut their master's throats." And these two men who had their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace, were actually compelled to draw up a formal declaration, that *they were not* trying to raise a rebellion in Barbadoes. It is also worthy of remark, that these Reformers did not at this time see the necessity of emancipation under seven years, and their principal efforts were exerted to persuade the planters of the necessity of instructing their slaves; but the slaveholder saw then, just what the slaveholder sees now, that an *enlightened* population *never* can be a *slave* population, and therefore they passed a law, that negroes should not even attend the meetings of Friends. Abolitionists know that the life of Clarkson was sought by slavetraders, and that even Wilberforce was denounced on the floor of Parliament as a fanatic and a hypocrite, by the present king of England, the very man who, in 1834, set his seal to that instrument which burst the fetters of eight hundred thousand slaves in his West India colonies. They know that the first Quaker who bore a *faithful* testimony against the sin of slavery, was cut off from religious fellowship with that society. That Quaker was a *woman*. On her deathbed she sent for the committee who dealt with her,—she told them the near approach of death had not altered her sentiments on the subject of slavery, and, waving her hand toward a very fertile and beautiful portion of country which lay stretched before her window, she said with great solemnity, "Friends, the time will come when there will not be friends enough in all this district to hold one meeting for worship, and this garden will be turned into a wilderness."

The aged friend, who, with tears in his eyes, related this interesting narrative to me, remarked, that at that time there were seven meetings of friends in that part of Virginia, but that when he was there ten years ago, not a single meeting was held, and the country was literally a desolation. Soon after her decease, John Woolman began his labours in our society, and instead of disowning a member for testifying *against* slavery, they have for fifty-two years positively forbidden their members to hold slaves.

Abolitionists understand the slaveholding spirit too well to be

surprised at anything that has yet happened at the South or the North; they know that the greater the sin is, which is exposed, the more violent will be the efforts to blacken the character, and impugn the motives of those who are engaged in bringing to light the hidden things of darkness. They understand the work of Reform too well to be driven back by the furious waves of opposition, which are only foaming out their own shame. They have stood "the world's dread laugh," when only twelve men formed the first Anti-Slavery Society in Boston, in 1834. They have faced and refuted the calumnies of their enemies, and proved themselves to be emphatically *peace men*, by *never resisting* the violence of mobs, even when driven by them from the temple of God, and dragged by an infuriated crowd through the streets of the emporium of New England,* or subjected by *slaveholders* to the pain of corporal punishment.† "None of these things move them;" and, by the grace of God, they are determined to persevere in this work of faith, and labour of love: they mean to pray, and preach, and write, and print, until slavery is completely overthrown,—until Babylon is taken up and cast into the sea, to "be found no more at all." They mean to petition Congress year after year, until the seat of our government is cleansed from the sinful traffic in "slaves and the souls of men." Although that august assembly may be like the unjust judge who "feared not God, neither regarded man," yet it *must* yield, just as he did, from the power of importunity. Like the unjust judge, Congress *must* redress the wrongs of the widow, lest by the continual coming up of petitions it be wearied. This will be striking the dagger into the very heart of the monster, who will soon after sink to the earth and expire.

Abolitionists have been accused of abusing their Southern brethren. Did the prophet Isaiah *abuse* the Jews when he addressed to them the cutting reproofs contained in the first chapter of his prophecies, and ended by telling them they would be *ashamed* of the oaks they had desired, and *confounded* for the garden they had chosen? Did John the Baptist *abuse* the Jews when he called them "*a generation of vipers*," and warned them "to bring forth fruits meet for repentance?" Did Peter abuse the Jews when he told them they were the *murderers* of the Lord of Glory? Did Paul abuse the Roman Governor when he reasoned before him of righteousness, temperance, and judgment, so as to send conviction home to his guilty heart, and cause him to tremble in view of the crimes he was living in? Surely not. No man will *now* accuse the prophets and apostles of *abuse*, but what have Abolitionists done more than they? No doubt the Jews thought the prophets and apostles in their day just as harsh and uncharitable as slaveholders now think Abolitionists; if they did not, why did they beat, and stone, and kill them?

* Case of Mr Garrison on the 21st October, 1835.

† Case of Amos Dresser, who was sentenced by a Lynch committee of *Christian men* (?) to receive 20 lashes on his bare back, for the crime of being an abolitionist.

Great fault has been found with the prints which have been employed to expose slavery at the North, but, my friends, how could this be done so effectually in any other way? Until the pictures of the slave's sufferings were drawn and held up to public gaze, no Northerner had any idea of the cruelty of the system; it never entered their minds that such abominations could exist in Christian, Republican America; they never suspected that many of the *gentlemen* and *ladies* who came from the South to spend the summer months in travelling among them, were petty tyrants at home. And those who had lived at the South, and came to reside at the North, were too *ashamed of slavery* even to speak of it; the language of their hearts was, "tell it *not* in Gath, publish it *not* in the streets of Askelon;" they saw no use in uncovering the loathsome body to popular sight, and, in hopeless despair, wept in secret places over the sins of oppression. To such hidden mourners the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies was as life from the dead: the first beams of hope which gleamed through the dark clouds of despondency and grief. Prints were made use of to effect the abolition of the Inquisition in Spain; and Clarkson employed them when he was labouring to break up the Slave trade; and English Abolitionists used them just as we are now doing. They are powerful appeals, and have invariably done the work they were designed to do, and we cannot consent to abandon the use of them until the *realities* no longer exist.

With regard to those white men, who, it was said, sought to raise an insurrection in Mississippi a year ago, and who were stated to be Abolitionists, none of them were proved to be members of Anti-Slavery Societies, and it must remain a matter of great doubt whether, even they, were guilty of the crimes alleged against them; because, when any community is thrown into such a panic as to inflict Lynch law upon accused persons, they cannot be supposed to be capable of judging with calmness and impartiality. *We know* that the papers of which the Charleston mail was robbed, were *not* insurrectionary, and that they were *not* sent to the coloured people as was reported. *We know* that Amos Dresser was *no insurrectionist*, though he was accused of being so, and on this false accusation, was publicly whipped in Nashville (Tennessee) in the midst of a crowd of infuriated *slaveholders*. Was that young man disgraced by this infliction of corporal punishment? No more than was the great apostle of the Gentiles who five times received forty stripes, save one. Like him, he might have said, "henceforth I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," for it was for the *truth's sake* he suffered, as much as did the Apostle Paul. Are Nelson, and Garrett, and Williams, and other Abolitionists, who have recently been banished from Missouri, insurrectionists? *We know* they are *not*, whatever slaveholders may choose to call them. The spirit which now asperses the character of the Abolitionists, is the *very same* which dressed up the Christians of Spain in the skins of wild beasts and pictures of devils, when they were led to execution as heretics. Before we condemn individuals, it is necessary, even in a wicked community, to accuse them of some

crime ; hence, when Jezebel wished to compass the death of Naboth, men of Belial were suborned to bear *false* witness against him : and so it was with Stephen, and so it ever has been, and ever will be, as long as there is any virtue to suffer on the rack, or the gallows. *False* witnesses must appear against Abolitionists before they can be condemned.

I will now say a few words on George Thompson's mission to this country. This philanthropist was accused of being a foreign emissary. Were La Fayette, and Steuben, and De Kalb, foreign emissaries when they came over to America to fight against the tories, who preferred submitting to what was termed, "the yoke of servitude," rather than bursting the fetters which bound them to the mother country ? They came with *carnal weapons* to engage in *bloody* conflict against American citizens, and yet, where do their names stand on the page of History. Among the honourable, or the low ? Thompson came here to war against the giant sin of slavery, *not* with the sword and the pistol, but with the smooth stones of oratory taken from the pure waters of the river of Truth. His splendid talents and commanding eloquence rendered him a powerful coadjutor in the Anti-Slavery cause, and in order to neutralize the effects of these upon his auditors, and rob the poor slave of the benefits of his labours, his character was defamed, his life was sought, and he at last driven from our Republic, as a fugitive. But was *Thompson* disgraced by all this mean and contemptible and wicked chicanery and malice ? No more than was Paul, when in consequence of a vision he had seen at Troas, he went over to Macedonia to help the Christians there, and was beaten and imprisoned, because he cast out a spirit of divination from a young damsel, which had brought much gain to her masters. Paul was as much a *foreign emissary* in the Roman colony of Philippi, as George Thompson was in America, and it was because he was a *Jew*, and taught customs it was not lawful for them to receive or observe, being Romans, that the Apostle was thus treated.

What have the foes of freedom in this land gained by the expulsion of George Thompson from these shores ? Look at him now pouring the thundering strains of his eloquence upon crowded audiences in Great Britain, and see in this a triumphant vindication of his character. The slaveholder, and his obsequious apologist, have gained nothing by all their violence and falsehood. No ! the stone which struck Goliath of Gath, had already been thrown from the sling. The giant of slavery who had so proudly defied the armies of the living God, had received his death-blow before he left our shores. But what is George Thompson doing there ? Is he not now labouring as effectually to abolish American slavery as though he trod our own soil, and lectured to New York or Boston assemblies ? What is he doing, but constructing a stupendous dam, which will turn the overwhelming tide of public opinion over the wheels of that machinery which Abolitionists are working here. He is now lecturing to *Britons* on *American Slavery*, to the *subjects* of a *King*, on the abject condition of the *slaves* of a *Republic*. He is telling them of that mighty confederacy of petty tyrants,

which extends over thirteen States of our Union. He is telling them of the munificent rewards offered by slaveholders, for the heads of the most distinguished advocates for freedom in this country.* He is moving the British Churches to send out to the churches of America the most solemn appeals, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting them with all long-suffering and patience, to abandon the sin of slavery immediately. Where then, I ask, will the name of George Thompson stand on the page of History? Among the honourable or the base?

What can I say more, my friends, to induce *you* to set your hands, and heads, and hearts to this great work of justice and mercy. Perhaps you have feared the consequences of immediate Emancipation, and been frightened by all those dreadful prophecies of rebellion, bloodshed, and murder, which have been uttered. "Let no man deceive you;" they are the predictions of that same "lying spirit" which spoke through the four thousand prophets of old, to Ahab king of Israel, urging him on to destruction. *Slavery* may produce these horrible scenes if it is continued five years longer, but Emancipation *never will*.

I can prove the *safety* of immediate Emancipation by history. In

* Soon after the commencement of the *Liberator* newspaper, the Senate of Georgia offered 5000 dollars for the editor, Mr Garrison. The Governor of the State gave his sanction to the resolution. It has never been rescinded.—G. T.

FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD!

The above reward will be given on the delivery, to the *Committee of Vigilance* for the Parish of *East Feliciana, Louisiana*, of the NOTORIOUS ABOLITIONIST, ARTHUR TAPPAN of NEW YORK.

Papers opposed to Abolition throughout the United States are requested to give publicity to the above.

Jackson, Louisiana, Oct. 15, 1835.

[From the *Milledgeville (Gersin) Federal Union*.]

10,000 DOLLARS REWARD,

For A. A. PHELPS, a *Noted Abolitionist*, who is now spreading the detestable doctrine in the New-England States, and who is hired by the Tappanites, at the rate of 1200 dollars per annum. The above reward will be paid on his delivery in Savannah to the Sheriff of Chatham county.

MANY CITIZENS.

February 1, 1836.—3t—32

* * Editors at the North, opposed to the abolition incendiaries, are requested to give the above notice one insertion in their respective papers.

The same paper which contains the above, has also numerous advertisements of *men and women for sale*. Among these is one advertising the sale together, of a MAN, two HORSES, and a MULE! Here it is:—

ADMINISTRATOR'S SALE.

On the first Tuesday in March next, will, within the legal hours, be sold, before the Court House door, in the town of Milledgeville, Baldwin county, one negro man, by the name of Stephen, two horses and one mule, belonging to the estate of Martin P. Smith, deceased, for the benefit of the heirs and creditors of said deceased. Terms made known on the day of sale.

WILLIAM F. SMITH, Administrator.

December 14, 1835.—25

St Domingo, in 1793, six hundred thousand slaves were set free in a white population of forty-two thousand. That island "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendour, cultivation prospered, every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress, and the negroes all continued quietly to work on the different plantations, until in 1802, France determined to reduce these liberated slaves again to bondage. It was at *this time* that all those dreadful scenes of cruelty occurred, which we so often *unjustly* hear spoken of, as the effects of Abolition. They were occasioned *not* by Emancipation, but by the base attempt to fasten the chains of slavery on the limbs of liberated slaves.

In Gaudaloupe, eighty-five thousand slaves were freed in a white population of thirteen thousand. The same prosperous effects followed manumission here, that had attended it in Hayti, every thing was quiet until Bonaparte sent out a fleet to reduce these negroes again to slavery, and in 1802, this institution was re-established in that island. In 1834, when Great Britain determined to liberate the slaves in her West India colonies, and proposed the apprenticeship system, the planters of Bermuda and Antigua, after having joined the other planters in their representations of the bloody consequences of Emancipation, in order, if possible, to hold back the hand which was offering the boon of freedom to the poor negro; as soon as they found such falsehoods were utterly disregarded, and Abolition must take place, came forward voluntarily, and asked for the compensation which was due to them, saying, *they preferred immediate emancipation*, and were not afraid of any insurrection. And how is it with these islands now? They are decidedly more prosperous than any of those in which the apprenticeship system was adopted, and England is now trying to abolish that system, so fully convinced is she that immediate Emancipation is the *safest* and the best plan.

And why not try it in the Southern States, if it *never* has occasioned rebellion; if *not a drop of blood* has ever been shed in consequence of it, though it has been so often tried, why should we suppose it would produce such disastrous consequences now? "Be not deceived then, God is not mocked," by such false excuses for not doing justly and loving mercy. There is nothing to fear from immediate Emancipation, but *every thing* from the continuance of slavery.

Sisters in Christ, I have done. As a Southerner, I have felt it was my duty to address you. I have endeavoured to set before you the exceeding sinfulness of slavery, and to point you to the example of those noble women who have been raised up in the church to effect great revolutions, and to suffer for the truth's sake. I have appealed to your sympathies as women, to your sense of duty as *Christian women*. I have attempted to vindicate the Abolitionists, to prove the entire safety of immediate Emancipation, and to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed. I have done—I have sowed the seeds of truth, but I well know, that even if an Apollos were to follow in my steps to water them, "*God only* can give the increase." To Him, then, who is able to prosper the work

of his servant's hand. I commend this appeal in fervent prayer, that as he "hath *chosen the weak things of the world* to confound the things which are mighty," so He may cause His blessing to descend and carry conviction to the hearts of many Lydias through these speaking pages. Farewell—count me not your "enemy because I have told you the truth," but believe me in unfeigned affection,

Your sympathizing Friend,

ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TEXAS is a part of the great continent of North America, immediately contiguous to the United States. It is that portion of the Mexican territory comprised between the *Mouths* and the *Sources* of the Sabine, Rio Del Norte, and Arkansas, or Red Rivers. It is bounded on the east and north-east of Louisiana and Arkansas; on the west and south-west by the Mexican States of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and New Mexico; on the south by the Gulf of Mexico; and on the north by the Red River. Since 1822, a large number of emigrants from the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri, have gone into this territory, carrying slaves with them, or purchasing them soon after. These Anglo-American settlers have recently revolted from the Mexican government, and, assisted by the people of the United States, are seeking to establish their independence, preparatory to becoming one of the States of the North American Union. The determination of the Texians to be entirely independent of the Mexican government and states, arises from their hatred of the coloured population of Mexico, their connexion with the whites of the United States by birth, politics, &c.,—their adhesion to a strong party, who, for many years, have been seeking the annexation of Texas to the United States,—and, finally, *the laws of Mexico, which know no distinctions founded on colour, and absolutely prohibit slavery and the slave trade.*

The following extract from the Constitution, recently adopted by the rebel Texians, will set forth in the strongest light the grounds of their disaffection to the Mexican government. It would be difficult to select from amongst the records of ancient or modern times, any thing more atrocious; yet this is part of a constitution adopted by men professing to be engaged in a struggle for civil and religious liberty; and the framers of this constitution have been eulogized throughout the United States as the champions of liberty and equality!

“ O Freedom ! Freedom ! how I hate thy cant !

* * * *

Who can, with patience, for a moment see
The medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks and democratic whites ?
To think that man, thou just and righteous God !
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty !”

“ SECTION IX.—All persons of *colour* who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, SHALL REMAIN in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the *bona fide* PROPERTY of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; NOR SHALL CONGRESS HAVE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, SHALL

BE PERMITTED TO RESIDE *permanently in the Republic, without the consent of Congress*; and the importation or admission of Africans or Negroes into the Republic, **EXCEPTING FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy."

The opinion of the intelligent and patriotic Abolitionists of the United States will doubtless be appreciated by the people of this country. I therefore insert two resolutions on the subject of Texas. The first was adopted at the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, New York, May 1836:—

"On the motion of Gerrit Smith, Esq.,—*Resolved*, That it is evident that the present struggle in Texas against the Government of Mexico is mainly for the extension and perpetuity of slavery, and therefore deserves the strongest reprobation of the friends of liberty and humanity; and that we fully believe that the independence of Texas, or its acquisition by our Government under these circumstances, would be mournfully disastrous to the cause of the coloured race,—of Liberty, Republicanism, and Christianity."

The following was passed at the Anniversary of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, October 1836:—

"*Resolved*, That we recognize in the Texian rebellion a scheme for robbing Mexico of her territory, for the purpose of re-establishing slavery upon it; and that we regard the exclusive privilege of supplying the slave market of Texas, recently granted to this country, as an insult to the moral sense of the nation, and also as a bribe to facilitate the admission into the American Union of a loathsome republic, which, while pretending attachment to liberty, is seeking to establish and perpetuate the most horrible and abominable despotism."

The following is the opinion of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, delivered in the House of Representatives at Washington, May 1836:—

"The war now raging in Texas is a Mexican civil war, and a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between slavery and emancipation, and every possible effort has been made to drive us into the war, on the side of slavery."

NO. II.

THE two following documents will be read with interest. The first is a communication from the Female Abolitionists of New England

TO THE WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Boston, November, 1835.

We write to you from the heat of a commotion, unparalled in our remembrance; and the scene we witness, and wish we could find adequate words to describe, is one of awful sublimity.

But how can we embody so vast a subject in so slight a sketch as time permits? How can we in a few words picture to your minds the awakening of a nation from a dream of peace, and freedom, and glory, to a reality of strife, and slavery, and dishonour?

Here are the noble few, half spent, yet strong in heart, struggling to stay the headlong descent of the many. Here are the frantic many rushing down to the abyss, with eyes yet closed, and brains yet under the influence of their feverish dream. Here are the miscalled wise and prudent, the mistaken, benevolent, and compassionate, the imbecile and office-seeking Statesman, the time-serving and timid Clergy,—the Wealthy, the Fashionable, the Literary, the blind leaders of the blind, the self-styled religious, all joining to heap opprobrium and persecution upon those who would fain save them from the swift walking destruction that threatens our noon-day.

Foremost among this band of steadfast-hearted stands George Thompson. We fervently thank God who put it into the mind of Great Britain to send him to our aid. His piety and eloquence, his incorruptible integrity, his devoted self-sacrifice, his unrivalled talents, have given a wonderful impulse to the cause.

In proportion to his usefulness has the cry been raised that he should "depart out of our coasts." Now that his life is in danger from the assassin every moment that he remains in this country, we, too, think it is time that he should depart. What a revelation has the past year flashed upon our minds! Slavery has infected the life-blood, and inflamed the heart of the nation. It is a literal fact, that never among the bloodiest race of the most persecuting age, was concealment more necessary to preserve the life of a defender of unpopular truth. Such a one has not merely assassination to apprehend,—he holds his life and property at the mercy of a mob of those who call themselves the "wealth and standing, the influence and respectability of the country," who are striving to establish an aristocratic order of things, without those adjuncts and circumstances which, in Europe, seem to justify such an order. Scenes of outrage have become so common, as to follow regularly upon the expression of our opinions. The spirit of northern Liberty is commanded to yield to the spirit of southern Slavery, and we are made to feel in our own persons that the violation of the rights of the black man has made the rights of the white man insecure. So simple a matter as the Annual Meeting of our Society, caused the representatives of the Slave interest in this city to rush to the spot, in numbers not less than 4000 or 5000, for the avowed purpose of putting a stop to the meeting, by taking the life of Mr Thompson, who, they conjectured, was to address us. Not finding him, they seized Mr Garrison, and his life was hardly saved by the most desperate exertions. Mr Thompson has been for weeks a prisoner to his room. The abolitionists dare not allow him to risk his life further. Notwithstanding their wrongs they are true patriots; and, independently of their fervent friendship to the man, and the deep sense of the value of his life to the cause, they shudder at the probability, that his blood may be upon the head of this people, if he remains longer. Even his wife and little ones are unsafe. These are horrible truths. We can find no words to express our sense of grief and indignation, therefore we make no comments. We are obliged to bear the sense of them constantly in our minds, and this is a severity of infliction which compels us to confess them. We do so with the hope that we may have your sympathy and your prayers, and in the confidence that every contemplation of the present crisis will strengthen us to renewed exertions. One of our authors justly observes, "The time of preparation for a better order of things, is not a time of favorable appearances. We see on reflection, that the state of a nation has changed for the better, when it has passed from deadly lethargy, though to convulsive life."

These considerations are for the present grievous, yet shall they yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby. It is not until the Angel troubled the pool, that it has virtue to heal the impotent who lie about it; not until men's minds are hot in the furnace, that they yield to the weight of evidence and argument; and we must not wonder that the blows of these appointed instruments bring out sparkles of fiery indignation.

While the strong are thus engaged in endeavouring to soften and influence, we, who are weak, are yet strong in purpose, to continue to use all righteous, christian, and suitable means, to effect the same great objects. Amid our many afflictions, we are sorrowing most of all, that we must see his face no more, whom you have sent to give us aid, counsel, and courage. He has done all this most effectually, and is hunted for his life as his reward. But a different reward awaits him,—the blessings and the thanks of every friend of human freedom that now breathes, or ever shall breathe, on this Globe,—the joy of the host of heaven over the multitudes his ministrations have blessed,—the command which, if ever mortal could, he may confidently anticipate, to enter also into the joy of his Lord.

Dear Friends, we boast a common ancestry and language: our hearts and our hopes too are one. You, as well as ourselves, claim kindred with those "devout and honourable women," the puritan mothers of New England. They were wont to commend themselves to their friends in "the love of Christ." Do we not the same when we say, yours, in the love of freedom?

In behalf of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations in New England,

(Signed)

MARY S. PARKER, *President.*

MARIA W. CHAPMAN, *Sec. For. Cor.*

REPLY FROM THE LADIES OF DARLINGTON.

At an Adjourned Meeting of Ladies friendly to the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world, held in the Friends' Meeting House, Darlington, the following Address was unanimously adopted:—

To the Members of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations in New England,

DEAR FRIENDS,

We have perused your touching and powerful Appeal to the Women of Great Britain, with an interest which no words can adequately convey. The zeal, fortitude, and Christian spirit you evince, are alike creditable to humanity and religion, and have called forth our strongest feelings of sympathy and anxiety to co-operate with you in the noble work in which you are labouring. We abhor Slavery in every shape, and oppression under every form, and are one with you in heart and in hope, in principle and in purpose, to effect its extinction wherever it exists.

We rejoice in the victory which the long protracted struggle of Great Britain has achieved, in having at length succeeded to a great extent, in breaking the fetters of Slavery in her own Colonies. But our object is *universal* freedom,—the breaking of every yoke, the deliverance of the oppressed, in every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.

We regard, therefore, with feelings of the deepest sorrow, the existence of Slavery and the Slave-trade, with all their attendant abominations, in the Southern States of America. Odious as such a system must be, under any circumstances, its existence is doubly deplorable and culpable in a land calling itself free, and amongst a people professing the Christian name.

So glaring an inconsistency must injure the cause of Liberty in the world at large, whilst it affords to the espouser of Infidelity his most cogent argument against our holy religion.

The heart-stirring addresses of George Thompson have been eminently instrumental, in this country, in awakening feelings of abhorrence towards American Slavery. We cannot better convey to you our sentiments on the subject, than by saying that they are in unison with his.

We shall not attempt to give vent to the feelings of regard and esteem which we entertain towards this talented, eloquent, and intrepid champion of the inalienable rights of man. To you he needs no commendation; and his spirit seeks not its solace in the contaminated region of human applause. He aspires after the favour of Heaven, and we rejoice in the belief that all the hardships, labours, and persecutions he has undergone on behalf of suffering humanity, will be returned a thousand-fold into his bosom, in the rich enjoyment of that peace which shall be his abundant reward in time and eternity.

Dear Sisters,—We congratulate you on the rapid advances which the cause of human freedom is making in your land.

We contemplate, with peculiar delight, the powerful and salutary influence you must exert over public feeling, by the faithful and fearless testimony you bear against the prejudices, corruptions, and oppressions which disgrace your nation.

Truth and humanity, reason and revelation, are on your side. Your cause must, therefore, eventually triumph. We would encourage you to persevere with unremitting energy, in the use of all Christian efforts, until the meridian splendour of that glorious day, which shall witness the last link to be broken which binds the Slave,—until all the odious distinctions founded on colour shall be buried in oblivion, and the injured sons of Africa, in your land, restored to the full enjoyments of all the rights and privileges of humanity.

We again offer you the heartfelt assurance, that the great personal sacrifices, the sufferings and persecutions, you are called upon to endure, claim our warmest sympathy; and, in conclusion, we would fervently commend you and your righteous cause to the blessing of Him in the counsels of whose wisdom it is to crown your efforts with victory.

(Signed, on behalf of the Meeting), ELIZABETH PEASE.

JESSE ELIZABETH WEMYSS.

December 14, 1836.

No. III.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR, or a spirit of loathing and hatred towards the negro, is one of the distinguishing sins of America. There is, in America, an *aristocracy* more exclusive, more oppressive, more tenacious, and more offensive, than any aristocracy that ever existed in the old world. It is an aristocracy whose claims rest upon the hue of the skin, the texture of the hair, and the configuration of certain parts of the body :—it is a straight-haired, pale-faced, short-heeled, high-nosed aristocracy. It derides the commandment, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” It blots from the sacred page the fraternizing truth that “God hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” It denies to the Gospel the power of elevating the descendant of Africa to the level of the white man upon the same continent. It makes ministers of Christ unbelievers,—opposers of the spirit and power of Christianity. It would renounce the Saviour of the world, if it were demonstrated, that, when on earth, he tabernacled in the body of a coloured man. It has cast over the vision of otherwise clear-sighted and excellent men, a film so thick, that they cannot see into the obligations laid upon them by the Word of God. When you talk of positive commands :—of the duties of man to man,—and, of members of a Christian Church, one towards another,—prejudice talks of “divine ordination ;”—“primitive, inherent, invincible antipathies ;”—“the necessity of keeping the *races* distinct and unmingled,” &c. &c. &c. This prejudice has poisoned the waters of benevolence at the fountain-head. Every sympathy expressed, every effort made in reference to the coloured population, is polluted and debased by this unholy and cruel principle. The scheme of colonization had its origin in this aversion to the coloured man, and has been sustained and nourished by it. When the sinfulness of hating the negro is seen and felt, the scheme of expatriation will be at an end. What is the language of this prejudice in the lips of the most benevolent of those whose souls have been chilled and contracted by its withering touch? The free coloured people are “a greater *NUISANCE* than even slaves themselves ;”—a *vile excrescence* upon society ;—a *CURSE AND CONTAGION* wherever they reside ;—an anomalous race of beings, *the most degraded upon earth* ;—a *mildew* upon our fields ;—a *stain* upon our escutcheon ;—the *most abandoned race on earth* ;—scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light. Is this vileness, depravity, and debasement, attributed to oppression exercised by the whites?—to the injuries, moral, political, and social, inflicted by the whites?—to the locking up of the Bible :—to the universal contempt in which they are held, and the ten thousand persecutions they are compelled to endure?—persecutions calculated to drive them to despair, and quench the last spark of generous feeling or self-respect, even the desire to live in such a land of blighting despotism? Are these things assigned as the true or probable causes of the alleged unsightliness and moral leprosy of the coloured population? Nothing of the kind. They have a flattering unction for their souls,—a powerful but most unscriptural antidote to the precepts of the Gospel, and the promptings of an awakened conscience. They say,—“SEVERE NECESSITY places them (the free negroes) in a class of degraded beings :—CHRISTIANITY cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the coloured man, nor of the white man, but AN ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.” “In the *physical organization* of his frame we meet an *insurmountable barrier even to approach to SOCIAL INTERCOURSE*, and in the *Egyptian colour* which nature has stamped on his features, a principle of repulsion so strong as to *forbid the idea of a COMMUNION, EITHER OF INTEREST OR OF FEELING, as utterly abhorrent.*” Such is the philosophy, and such the religion of prejudice. What shall be said of *caste* in *India*, while the jaundice of prejudice afflicts the souls of Christianized Americans? If Christianity can break the cords of caste on the banks of the Ganges, then (the colonizationists of America being judges) it can accomplish in India what it cannot effect in America! O! infamous libel upon the religion of Jesus, the friend of publicans and sinners!

When the Agent of the American Colonization Society was in this country, engaged in the work of collecting funds and enlisted British sympathy (foreign interference!), he constantly represented the objects of the Society to be,—

“the final and entire abolition of slavery,”—and the “spread of Christianity and civilization among the fifty millions of benighted Africa.”* How widely he differed from the Hon. Henry Clay, one of the founders of the Society, and now its President, will be ascertained by a perusal of the following extract from a letter, addressed by Mr Clay to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, on being informed of his appointment to the highest office in the institution:—

“Regarding the American Colonization Society as *the only practicable scheme for SEPARATING THE EUROPEAN DESCENDANTS upon this Continent FROM THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR*, the descendants of Africans, with their own consent, and of ultimately effecting a more extensive SEPARATION OF THE TWO RACES, with the consent of the States and individuals interested,” &c. &c.

With this explicit avowal of the object of the Society by “the Hon. Henry Clay, its champion,”† the Society ought, in common sincerity, to change its title, and henceforth stand out before the world in its true character, as the

“AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE SEPARATION OF THE RACES.”

No. IV.

Extracts from “An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, proposing a plan for the Instruction and Emancipation of their Slaves. By a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky:”—

“Slavery is not the same all the world over; and to ascertain its character in any particular state or country, we must examine the constituents and effects of *the kind of slavery which there exists*. The system as it exists among us, and is constituted by our laws, *consists of three distinct parts,—a deprivation of the right of property, a deprivation of personal liberty, and a deprivation of personal security*. In all its parts it is, manifestly, a violation of the laws of God, as revealed by the light of nature, as well as the light of revelation.

“Not only has the slave no right to his wife and children, he has no right even to himself. His very body, his muscles, his bones, his flesh, are all the property of another. The movements of his limbs are regulated by the will of a master. He may be sold, like a beast of the field,—he may be transported, in chains, like a felon. If it be a violation of the rights of nature to deprive men of their *political freedom*, the injustice is surely much more flagrant when we rob them of *personal liberty*. The condition of a subject is enviable compared with the condition of a slave. We are shocked at the despotism exercised over the Poles. But theirs is a political yoke, and is light compared with the heavy personal yoke that bows down the two millions of our coloured countrymen. Does European injustice lose its foul character, when practised with aggravations in America!

“Our system, as established by law, arms the master with power to prevent his slave from worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The owner of human beings among us may legally restrain them from assembling to hear the instructions of divine truth, or even from ever uniting their hearts and voices in social prayer and praise to Him who created them. God alone is Lord over the conscience. Yet our system, defrauding alike our Creator and our slaves, confers upon men this prerogative of Deity. Argument is unnecessary to show the guilt and madness of such a system. And do we not participate in its criminality if we uphold it?

“Cruelty may be carried to any extent, provided life be spared. Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture may be inflicted on him, and he has no redress. But, not content with thus laying the body of the slave defenceless at the foot of the master, our system proceeds still further, and strips

* See Pamphlet circulated by Elliott Cresson, Esq. published by John Miller, London, 1831

† Words of Mr Cresson.

him, in a great measure, of all protection against the inhumanity of any *other* white man who may choose to maltreat him. The laws prohibit the evidence of a slave against a white man from being received in a court of justice. So that wantonness and cruelty may be exercised by any man with impunity upon these unfortunate people, provided none witness it but those of their own colour. In describing such a condition, we may well adopt the language of sacred writ: 'Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment.'

"Such is the essential character of our slavery. Without any crime on the part of its unfortunate subjects, they are deprived for life, and their posterity after them, of the right to property, of the right to liberty, and of the right to personal security. These odious features are not the excrescences upon the system—they are the *system itself*—they are its essential constituent parts. And can any man believe that such a thing as this is not sinful—that it is not hated by God—and ought not to be abhorred and abolished by men?"

No. V.

The following will show the manner in which Anti-Slavery petitions are at present treated in the United States Congress:—

Scene in the House of Representatives on the Presentation of a Ladies' Petition for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade at the Seat of Government.—From the National Intelligencer of January 9, 1837.

Mr John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, said, he would have the honour of presenting to the house the petition of 228 women, the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents; and as a part of the speech which he intended to make, he would take the liberty of reading the petition. It was not long, and would not consume much time.

Mr Glascock objected to the reception of the petition.

Mr A. proceeded to read, that the petitioners, inhabitants of South Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress"—

Mr Pinckney rose to a question of order. Had the gentleman from Massachusetts a right, under rule, to read the petition?

The Speaker said, the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a statement of the contents of the petition.

Mr Pinckney desired the decision of the Speaker as to whether a gentleman had a right to read a petition.

Mr Adams said, he was reading the petition as a part of his speech, and he took this to be one of the privileges of a member of the house. It was a privilege which he would exercise till he should be deprived of it by some positive act.

The Speaker repeated that the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a brief statement of the contents of the petition. It was not for the Speaker to decide whether that brief statement should be made in the gentleman's own language, or whether he should look over the petition, and take his statement from that.

Mr Adams.—At the time my friend from South Carolina——

The Speaker said, the gentleman must proceed to state the contents of the petition.

Mr Adams.—I am doing so, sir.

The Speaker.—Not in the opinion of the chair.

Mr Adams.—I was at this point of the petition—"Keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatever"——

Loud cries of "Order, order."

Mr A. proceeded.—"Do most earnestly petition your honourable body"——

Mr Chambers of Kentucky rose to a point of order.

Mr A. proceeded.—“Immediately to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia,”——

Mr Chambers reiterated his call to order, and the Speaker told Mr Adams to take his seat.

Mr A. proceeded (with great rapidity of enunciation, and in a very loud tone of voice).—“And to declare any human being free who sets foot upon its soil.”

Mr Chambers insisted on his point of order, and the Speaker again, with great earnestness of manner, told the gentleman from Massachusetts to take his seat.

Whereupon Mr A. yielded the floor.

[The confusion in the Hall at this time was so great that scarcely a word could be heard by the reporters.]

* * * * *

The Speaker presented, in writing, the substance of his decision, that it was not in order for a member to read the whole petition if objected to, but that he had only the right to make a “brief statement of the contents thereof.”

Mr Adams said, he proposed to withdraw his appeal, in order to save the time of the House, if the gentleman from Kentucky would permit him to complete his “brief statements of the contents” of the petition. It was indeed so brief, that to read the petition in its own language was the briefest statement that could be made.

Mr A. then read from the petition, that the petitioners “respectfully announced their intention to present the same petition yearly before this honourable body, that it might at least be a memorial in the holy cause of human freedom, that they had done what they could.”

These words were read amidst tumultuous cries for order from every part of the House. And order having at length been restored,

Mr Adams withdrew his appeal.

[The district of Columbia contains a population of between 7000 and 8000 slaves, and is, besides, a great depot for slaves. Packets, fitted up as slave-ships, are advertised to sail regularly from the port of Alexandria, in the district of Columbia, to New Orleans, the great slave-market for Louisiana.]

No. VI.

OUR RIGHT TO INTERFERE WITH AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The following just and eloquent remarks, contain an admirable reply to the objections so frequently urged against foreign interference. The extract is from a speech recently delivered by the Rev. ANDREW SOMERVILLE, of Dumbarton, at public meeting in Paisley:—

“Mankind, sir, form one great family. God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth. The division of nations is a conventional arrangement; and in the imposition of taxes, and all those matters which are strictly national, we are not to go beyond the boundaries within which the empire is confined. But in the exercise of those great principles and feelings which respect the whole human race, and which are above all conventional law, we are to disregard these boundaries, and to seek the welfare of all mankind. The display of what may be called national benevolence, and the influence which that is exerting upon surrounding countries, is one of the most delightful features of modern society. We all know the power which the bright example of a good man has upon those around him. The steady light of his intelligence, virtue, and piety, held up daily to the view of others, exerts upon them an exciting and moulding influence. It checks the vicious, and stimulates and encourages the virtuous. The same principle is applicable to nations, each of which has a peculiar character. When a people becomes distinguished for intelligence, sobriety, and virtue; and when their institutions, free and generous in their nature, are righteously administered, the name and the example of that people must have a commanding influence upon

other nations. This influence may be put forth indirectly or more directly. It may operate indirectly : for as the public character of an eminent man conveys silently and powerfully reproof to the bad, and excitement to the good ; so the deeds of an enlightened and virtuous people, published to the world, will gradually awaken in those that hear of them the desire of liberty, and induce them to reform their institutions, and make them more agreeable to the rights of man, and the demands of advancing civilization. But this influence may be put forth more directly. It may be put forth in the way of friendly remonstrance and solemn expostulation. As one is not to suffer sin upon his brother, but is in anywise to reprove him, so the inhabitants of one country may, according to the great laws of humanity, justly and legitimately expostulate with another, and endeavour to prevail upon them to remove those things which are a stain upon our common nature. And be it remarked, sir, that the people who refuse to exert this benevolent influence, or those who refuse to be affected by it, maintain the narrow and bigotted opinion, that our sympathies, and feelings, and operations, are to be confined within the spots which rivers and mountains mark out as the limits of kingdoms, and that we are to feel for and seek the good of those that dwell on this bank of the river, but dare not extend our sympathies and influence to those that dwell on the other. We plead not here, though we conceive that in certain cases we might safely do so, for one nation in its political capacity interfering with another in its political and independent capacity ; but we plead for the rights of humanity—for the free and unfettered operation of benevolence—and for the lawfulness of one class of men exerting a moral and persuasive influence upon the minds and conduct of another. This species of public benevolence, or, if you will, of interference with the affairs of others, which is beginning to be developed in our times, and from the growing energy of which we anticipate the best results to our world, is founded upon high and ancient principles. We have authority for it which the good will not controvert. What, sir, is the dictate of that law which binds the whole family of man ? It is, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But who is our neighbour ? Is it only the man who resides in the same town with us, or who is the subject of the same government ? Dare we not extend this love to him who lives beyond the national boundary ? What was the interpretation of this law which He gave, whose name and nature is love, and who, in his own conduct, exhibited an embodied example of perfect virtue ? He adduced as the neighbour a stranger—a hated stranger—and gave as the fulfilment of this law the kindness done by a subject of one nation to a subject of another. And did the good Samaritan, when he saw the Jew lying in his blood, ask the permission of the Sanhedrim, the supreme court of the nation, to extend to him the hand of relief ? Did he wait till that court should sanction his interference ? No : he looked into his own heart, and he read there the fragment of a law higher than the authority of the Sanhedrim, and immediately he gave relief to his wounded neighbour : and the Judge of all said that he did right. And shall we, who know the command with which that parable is closed, ‘ Go thou and do likewise,’ wait for the sanction of the American Congress, before we express our sympathy for the enslaved sons of Africa, and attempt, by moral persuasion, to procure their liberty ? The spirit of the Gospel inculcates the same conduct. When the Saviour, the friend of man, was leaving this world, did he take the map of the earth, and command his disciples to respect the boundaries of nations ? Did he say, go and disciple this people, but beware of crossing this line, and preaching the Gospel among that people ? No, sir, his love embraced all kindreds of men ; and he said, go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. The world, then—the whole world, is the field in which our sympathies, our benevolence, and our love are to operate. Animated by these exalted principles and feelings, let us arise, and, with united voices, tell our brethren in America, that they should give freedom to their bondmen. Let us not take up the attitude of denunciation. Remembering our own guilt, let us beware of that. But let us tell them that we have repented of our sin ; and, as an evidence of our repentance, that we have paid twenty millions for the freedom of our slaves. Let us calmly, affectionately, and earnestly remonstrate with them on the guilt and inconsistency of their conduct ; let us intimate to them that there are thousands and millions in this country who, animated by the spirit of Mr Thompson, and disposed to second his efforts, have resolved that they will not rest till slavery has been abolished in all parts of the earth. Let

us say, that, as freemen, we feel ashamed of their conduct ; that we feel that the cause of liberty—dear to both nations—is injured by their holding slaves, and that the bondage which exists among them is a fetter on the right hand of their strength. Let us tell them that there is much oppression and tyranny in other nations, and that we desire their aid in working out the freedom of the human race, but that we cannot call upon them to co-operate with us in this noble enterprise, till they have liberated their own slaves, and have sounded the Jubilee Trumpet of freedom through all their States. Oh, sir, did that great nation, whose exertions in the cause of the Gospel are so splendid and so meritorious, break and cast away for ever the fetters of thralldom, and embrace in the bosom of love her black and coloured subjects, what an energy would her appeals in behalf of freedom possess ! Britain and America united in the cause of liberty and virtue, would soon achieve, by their moral influence and efforts, the emancipation of the world.

It appears, sir, from that touching letter of the free coloured African, which Mr Thompson read, that the free people of colour have societies, the object of which is to pray for the freedom of their enslaved brethren. Let us unite with them in this. Let us surround the throne of mercy, and seek that the God of the families of the whole earth would, in his providence, burst the fetters of those in servitude, and make them go free. And as our prayers ascend to Him who holds in his hand the hearts of all men, and who turns them as he pleases, He will pour out in such measure the influences of that Spirit, of whom it is said, that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty ; that by his transforming energy, the master may be freed from the dominion of fiery passions, and the slave from the bondage to which he is subjected, and both blessed with the liberty and the joy which Christ gave to the sons of God.

FINIS.